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THREE
LETTERS

Concerning the

Present State

* 2764.18

OF

ITALY,

Written in the Year 1687.

- I. *Relating to the Affair of MOLINOS, and the QUIETISTS.*
- II. *Relating to the INQUISITION, and the State of Religion.*
- III. *Relating to the Policy and Interests of some of the States of ITALY.*

Being A SUPPLEMENT to Dr.
BURNETS LETTERS.

Printed in the Year 1688.

2764.18

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Feb. 1, 1859.

A T A B L E

Of the Contents of the Three

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The Stationer to the Reader.

I Can give no other account of these *Letters*, but that they were communicated to me, by a person of known Integrity; who assured me, that he who made these *Observations*, is a man of great vertue, and considerably learned: who has been long and much in *Italy*: who is both capable of looking narrowly into matters, and is of such severe morals, that one may safely depend on all he says. This was enough for me; so without making any further enquiry, or knowing any thing of the *Author*, I have set about the printing of them.

V A L E.

(i)

A

LETTER


Writ from

ROME,

To one in *Holland*, concerning the

QUIETISTS.

S I R,

 Our desire of being informed particularly by me, of the state of *Religion* and *Learning* in *Italy*, and chiefly here at *Rome*, has quickned my curiosity, and has set an edge upon a humour that is of it self Inquisitive enough : and tho I am not so much in love with writing, as to delight in transmitting you long *Letters*, yet I find I have matter at present for a very long one; chiefly in that which relates to the *Quietists*: for you observe right, that the short hints that *Dr. Burnet* gave of their matters in his *Letters*, did rather increase the curiosity of

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the *English*, than satisfy it. He told as much as was generally known in *Rome* at that time, concerning them; but as a longer stay might have discovered more particulars to him, so there have fallen out since that time such new and surprising accidents, that there is not more hearkning after new *Evidence* in *England*, upon the breaking out of *Plots*, than there was at *Rome* upon the Imprisonment of so great a number of persons in *February* and *March* last; the number alone of 200 persons, was enough to raise a great curiosity; but this was much encreased by the quality of the persons that were clapt up, who were both for Rank, for Learning, and for Piety, the most esteemed of any in *Rome*. So I was pusht on by my own Inclinations, as well as by your Entreaties, to take all the pains that was possible for me, to be well Informed of this matter. The particular Application with which I had read some of the Books of Devotion writ in this method, and the pleasure, and, I hope, profit, that I had found in it, made me still the more earnest to know this matter to the bottom. It is true, it was hard to find it out: for those who have been in *Rome*, know with how much caution all people there talk of matters that are before the *Inquisition*: those are like the Secrets of state elsewhere: of which a man cannot talk much without in-

incurring some Inconvenience; and there is no Inconvenience that is more terrible at *Rome*, than the falling into the hands of the *Inquisitors*: for besides the Danger that a man runs, if the suspicions are well founded, the least ill effect that this must have, is the cutting off all a mans hopes of Preferment; for what a Suspicion of *High Treason* is elsewhere, the Suspicion of *Heresy* is at *Rome*; and where there are many Pretenders, and there is so much to be expected, you may imagine that Hope and Fear working at the same time so powerfully; it must be very hard to ingage such persons as probably know the secret of things, to trust themselves upon so tender a point, to strangers. The truth is, *Learning* is so low in *Italy*, and the Opinion that they have of the Learning of *Strangers*, chiefly of *Hereticks*, is so high, that they do not willingly enter either on Subjects of *Learning* or of *Religion* with them; and on the other hand a *Stranger* and a *Heretick*, who is considered as a *Spye*, or a fair Enemy at best, will not find it convenient to thrust on such subjects of conversation; as are tender and suspicious. All this is to prepare you for a relation which you will perhaps think defective, yet is as full as I could possibly gather, out of all the Hints and Informations that some moneths stay at *Rome* procured me.

The first thing that surprises a *stranger* in *Rome*, is the very unequal mixture of *Wealth* and *Poverty*, that he sees here, as well as in all the parts of *Italy*; yet it is more conspicuous here, than elsewhere: for as the *Wealth* of the *Churches*, *Palaces* and *Convents* is astonishing, so the *Poverty* of the *Inhabitants*, and the meanness of the ordinary Buildings, is extremely unsuitable to the magnificence of the other. When a man sees what *Italy* was an Age or two ago, not to go back so far as to remember what *Rome* was once; he can hardly imagin how such a fall, such a dispeopling, and such a poverty could befall a *Nation* and *Climate*, that Nature has made to be one of the richest of the world, or of *Europe* at least; if the *PRIESTS* had not at the same time a secret to make the *Natives* miserable, in spite of all that Abundance with which Nature has furnished them. It were notable to withstand even an ordinary Enemy, and it can scarce support it self. Those *Italians* that have seen the Wealth and Abundance that is in *England* and *Holland*, tho their *Sun* is less favorable, and their *Climate* is more unhappy, and that come home so see their *Towns* deserted; and their *Inhabitants* in Raggs, speak of this sometimes with an Indignation that is too sensible to be at all times kept within bounds. They speak of the difference between *Holland* and

Italy

Italy, likemen affected when they compared the *two* soils and *Climates* together. The one is a *soil* divided between *sand* and *turff*, preserved from the *Innudations* of *Land-floods*, and the overflowing of the *sea*, at a vast Charge, suffering often such losses as would ruin other *states*, and paying great and constant *Impositions*: and yet with all these *Inconveniences*, and all the disadvantages of a feeble *sun*, a stagnating and phlegmatick *Air*, violent *Colds*, and moderate, or at least very shorts *Heats*, this *Countrey* is full of *Wealth* and *People*; and there is in it such an abundance of great *Towns* and considerable *villages*, and in all these there appear so many marks of *plenty*, and none at all of *Want*: and the *other* has a kind *sun*, long and happy *Summers*, and mild *Winters*: a fruitful and rich *soil*, and every thing that the *Inhabitants* can wish for on *Natures* part, to render them the *Envy* of the *World*: whereas they are become the *Scorn* and contempt of all that see them. And as much as the *Dutch* seem to have acted in spite of *Nature* on the one hand, in rendring themselves much more considerable than she has *Intended* they should be; so the *Government* of *Italy* seems to have reversed the design of *Nature* as much on the other hand, by reducing the *Inhabitants* to such a degree of *Misery*, in spite of all her *Bounty*: upon this subject

the *Italians* will talk more freely than upon matters of *Religion*: and do not stick to say, that it flows from the share that **PRIESTS** have in the Government, and that not only in the *Popes* Territory, but in all the other *Courts* of *Italy*, where they have the main stroke. They will tell you, that *Priests* have not Souls big enough, nor tender enough, for Government: they have both a narrowness of spirit, and a sourness of mind, that does not agree with the Principles of human Society: Their having so short and so uncertain a time of governing, makes them think only on the present, so that they do not carry their prospect to the Happiness of, or misery that must be the consequences of what they do, at any considerable distance of time: nor have they those Compassions for the Miserable with which wise *Governours* ought to temper all their Counsells; for a stern sourness of temper, and an unrelenting hardness of heart, seems to belong to all that sort of *men* in *Italy*. Whatsoever advances their present Interests, and enriches their families, is preferred to all wise, great or generous counsells. Now tho the *Natives* dare not carry this matter further, yet a *stranger*, that thinks more freely, and that has examined matters of Religion, in a more Inquisitive manner, sees plainly that all these errors in *Government*, are the effects

effects of their *Religion*, and of that authority which they believe is lodged in the *Pope*, chiefly and of which every *Priest* has so considerable a share, that he is easily able to make himself master of every mans Conscience that lets him into it, and that believes those *three* great branches of their power: that *they can pardon their sins*, *make their God*, and *secure them both from Hell and Purgatory*. These are things of such a mighty operation, that if it is not easy to imagine how they should be so easily believed, yet supposing once the belief of them, all other things flow very naturally from thence: men are not convinced of these errors till it is too late to come and undeceive others. It is true, many of the *Italians* believe these things as little as we do; yet this is in them rather an effect of a loose and libertine temper, than of study and enquiry, in a *Countrey* where not only *Heretical books* would endanger a man, but the bare reading even of a *Latin New Testament* would give some suspicion. But the thinking men among them are led to doubt of all things, rather from a principle of *Atheism*, than of searching into matters of Controversy: the one is much less dangerous there, than the other would be. And indeed as soon as a man becomes a little familiar with any of the *men* of freer thoughts here, he will soon see that the belief of their *Religion* has

very little power over many of those who are the most zealous to support it, only because their Interest determines them. When a man has lived some time at *Rome*, and has known a little of the Mysteries of the *Conclave*, with the *Character* both of the present and the late *Popes*, particularly the weakness and Ignorance of *him* that now *reigns*, who does not so much as understand *Latin*; when a man sees how matters are carried in that *Court*, what are the *Maximes* they go by, and the *Methods* that they take; when he sees what a sort of men the *Cardinals* are, men indeed of great Civility, and of much Craft; but as to the matters of *Religion*, men of an equal life both of Ignorance and Indifference: when a man sees how all preferments are obtained, but chiefly how the *purple* is given, and how men rise up to the *Triple Crown*: when, I say, a man has seen and observed all this a little, he cannot wonder enough at the *Character* that so great a part of the World sets on that *Court*. The plain and simple Arguments of Common sense work so strong, that *Transubstantiation* it self is not harder to be believed, than that this man is Christs *Vicar*, a man of *Infallibility*, and the source or channel at least of divine *truth*. So that a man that has given himself the opportunities of observing these matters Critically, will feel a persuasion of the falsehood of those pretensions formed so deep in him, that all the Sophistry

stry of Argument will never be able to overthrow it: for the plain sense of what he has seen will apparently discover the delusion of those Reasons, which perhaps he is not learned enough to answer: for let men say what they will, it is no easy matter to believe in a Contradiction to the clear Evidence of sense: and I cannot make my self so much as doubt, but that as *Cato* was wont to wonder how it came that every one of the *Heathen Priests* did not laugh when he saw another of the *Trade*, so the *Cardinals* when they look on one another, and a *Pope* even as Ignorant a one as the *present Pope* is, when he receives the submissions that are offered him by all who are of that *Communion*, must laugh within himself when he sees how lucky that Imposture is, which has subdued the World into so much respect for him, and to so great a dependance on him. A man who sees all these things upon the place, and is of an Age capable of making solid Reflections, and has a due portion of Learning, must return amazed, not so much at those who being already under the *Yoke*, have neither knowledge nor courage enough to shake it off, nor at those who go into it because they find their account in it, and so hope to have a good share of the spoil, as at those who have shaken off the *Yoke*, and have got into more *Liberty* and more *Knowledge*, and feel the happy Influence of their deliverance even in their

Civil Liberties and other *Temporal* Concerns, if they should ever come so much as to deliberate whether they ought to return and serve their old and severe *Masters*, or not. For my part, I speak freely to you, that I could sooner bring my mind to believe that there is no such thing as *Instituted Religion*; and that it is enough for men to be just and honest, civil and obliging, and to have a general reverence for the *Deity*, than ever to think that such *Stuff* as the *men* of the *Mission* would impose on the World can be true. Chiefly in that part of it which relates to the *Popes Authority*, after all that I have seen and known.

You will perhaps think, that this is a long digression, or at least a very improper introduction to that which I told you I would offer to you, since the relation that all this has with the matter of the *Quietists*, does not appear to be so very proper. Yet you will perhaps change your mind, when I tell you, that the Miseries of *Italy*, that the Aversion that all men of sense there have to the Artifices of their *Religion*, and chiefly to the conduct of the *Regulars*, and above all, of the *Jesuites*, is believed the true reason that led such numbers of *men* of all sorts to be so favourable to *Molinos*: to which this was rather to be ascribed, than to any Extraordinary Elevation of Piety or Devotion, of which

so little appears in that Country, that nothing which touches only upon that Principle can have great effects among them. Men that are sick, turn to all sorts of remedies: and those who are discontented, do naturally go into every new thing that either promises relief, or that wounds those that displease them. The present state of things in *Italy* being such as I have described it, you need not wonder to find so many ready to hearken after any thing that seemed both *new* and *safe*. For as the Novelty gave that curiosity which might draw in many; so the safety that seemed to be in a Method of Devotion in which so many of the Canonised *Saints* had gone before them, and which appeared at first authorised by the Approbation of so many *Inquisitors*, made them apprehend that there could be no danger in it. In the recital that I am to give you, I do not pretend to tell you all the whole affair: nor will I assure you of the truth of all that you will find here. For in matters of this nature, in which Interest and Passion are apt to work so strongly, there are alwayes so many false Reports spread, and matters are so often aggravated on the one hand, and diminished or denied on the other, that I will not say but there may be some things here that upon a stricter inquiry will perhaps appear not to be well founded; yet of this I will assure
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you very positively, that I have Invented and added nothing my self. I leave those arts to the *Italians*, and the *Court of Rome*: therefore I will tell you things nakedly and simply, as I found them, without adding so much as one Circumstance out of my own Invention. I also made as much use of my Judgment as was possible for me to do, both in considering the Circumstances of those with whom I talked on those heads, and the things themselves that they said to me; so I let pass all that seemed to be the effect of Passion or Prejudice, and only marked down that which seemed to be true, as well as that which I had from men whom I had reason to believe. My *Informers* were men of Probity and of Sense; they were not indeed easily brought to talk of this *Subject*, and they spoke of it with great Reserves: so that there may be many defects, and possibly some mistakes in the account that I am to offer you; yet you must be contented with it; for it is all that I could gather; and it is not corrupted with any mixture of my own.

Michael de Molinos is a *Spaniard*, of a good and Opulent Family. He entred into *Priests Orders*, but had never any Ecclesiastical *Benefice*: so that he seemed to have dedicated himself to the service of the *Church*, without designing any Advantage by it to him-

himself. He passes in *Italy* for a man both of *Learning* and of good *Sense*. His course of life has been exact, but he has never practised those Austerities that are so much magnified in the *Church of Rome*, and among the Religious Orders: and as he did not affect to practise them, so he did not recommend them to others; nor was he fond of those poor *Superstitions* that are so much magnified by the trafficking men of that *Church*. But he gave in to the Method of the *Mystical Divines*, of which, since your studies have not perhaps lien much that way, I shall give you this short account.

That sublime, but mysterious way of *Devotion*, was not set out by any of the first *Writers* of the *Church*; which is indeed a great Prejudice against it: for how many soever they may be, who have followed it in the latter Ages, yet *Cassians Collations*, which is a work of the middle of the fifth Century, is the antientest Book that is writ in that strain: for the pretended *Denis the Arcopagite* is now by the consent of all learned men thought no Elder than the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth Century. Yet after these *Books* appeared, very few followed the elevated strains that were in them: the latter was indeed too dark to be either well understood or much followed. So that this way of *Devotion*, if it was practised
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in *Religious Houses*, yet was not much set out to the World before *S. Bernards* time; whose melting strains, tho a little too much laboured and affected; yet have something in them that both touches and pleases: after him many began to write in that sublime strain; such as *Thauler*, *Rusbrachius*, *Harpheus*, *Suso*, but above all *Thomas a Kempis*. And when for some considerable time that way of *writing* was discontinued, it was again raised up in the last Age, with much luster by *S. Teresa*; and after her by *Baltasar Alvarez* a *Jesuit*: and as *England* produced a *Carthusian* in King *Henry* the sixths time, one *Walter Hilton*, who writ the *Scale of Perfection*, a Book Inferior to none of these I have cited, and more simple and natural than most of them; so of late *F. Cressy* has published out of *F. Bakers* Papers, who was a *Benedictine*, a whole body of that method of *Divinity* and *Devotion*. The right notion of this way of Devotion is somewhat hard to be well understood, by those who have not studied their *Metaphisicks*, and is entangled with too many of the terms of the School; yet I shall give it to you as free of these as is possible.

With relation to *Devotion* they consider a man in *three* different degrees of Progress and Improvement: the first is the *Animal*, or the Imaginative state: in which the Im-
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preffions of *Religion* work strongly upon a
 mans Fancy, and his sensitive Powers : this
 state is but low and mean, and futeable to
 the Age of a Child; and all the *Devotion* that
 works this way, that raises a heat in the
 Brain, tenderness in the Thoughts, that
 draws Sighs and Tears, and that awakens ma-
 ny melting *Imaginations*, is of a low form, va-
 riable, and of no great force. The second
 state is the *Rational*, in which those Refle-
 ctions that are made on Truths, which con-
 vince ones *reason*, carry one to all futeable
 Acts : this they say is dry, and without mo-
 tion : it is a Force which the Reason puts
 upon the Will, and tho upon a great Variety
 of Motives, and many *Meditations* upon
 them, the mind goes thro a great many
 Performances of *Devotion*, yet this is still a
 Force put upon the *will*. So they reckon
 that the third and highest state is the *Contem-
 plative*, in which the *Will* is so united to
 God, and overcome by that Union, that in
 one single Act of *Contemplation*, it adores
 God, it loves him, and resigns it self up to
 him : and without wearying it self with a dry
 multiplicity of *Acts*, it feels in one Act of Faith
 more force than a whole day of Meditation
 can produce. In this they say that a true *Con-
 templative Man*, feels a secret Ioy in God,
 and an acquiescing in his Will; in which the
 true elevation of *Devotion* lies; and which is
 far

far above either the heats of *Fancy*, which accompany the *first* state, or the Subtilty of *Meditation*, that belongs to the *second* state: and they say, that the perfection of a *Contemplative State* above the others, appears in this, that whereas all men are not capable of forming lively *Imaginations*, or of a fruitful Invention, yet every man is capable of the simplicity of *contemplation*: which is nothing but the silent and humble adoration of God, that arises out of a pure and quiet mind. But because all this may appear a little Intricate, I shall illustrate it by a similitude, which will make the difference of those *three states* more sensible; 1. A man that sees the exterior of another, with whom he has no acquaintance, and is much taken with his face, shape, quality, and meen, and this has a blind prevention in his favour, and a sort of a feeble kindness for him, may be compared to him whose *Devotion* consists in lively *Imaginations*, and tender Impressions on his lower and sensible Powers: 2. A man that upon an acquaintance with another, sees a great many reasons to value and esteem, both his parts and his Vertues, yet in all this he feels no inward Charm that overcomes him, and knits his soul to the other; so that how high soever the esteem may be, yet it is cold and dry, and does not affect his heart much, may be compared to one whose *Devotion* consists in many Acts, and much

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Meditation. But 3dly, when a man enters into an entire friendship with another, then one single Thought of his Friend, affects him more tenderly, than all that variety of reflections, which may arise in his mind, where this Union is not felt. And thus they explain the sublime state of *Contemplation*. And they reckon that all the common methods of *Devotion*, ought to be considered, only as steps to raise men up to this state: when men rest and continue in them, they are but dead and lifeless Forms: and if they rise above them, they become Cloggs and Hindrances, which amuse them with many dry Performances, in which those who are of a higher Dispensation will feel no pleasure nor advantage. Therefore the use of the *Rosary*, the daily repeating the *Breviary*, together with the common *Devotions* to the *Saints*, are generally laid aside by those who rise up to the *Contemplative State*; and the chief business to which they apply themselves, is to keep their *Minds in an inward Calm and Quiet*, that so they may in silence form simple *Acts* of Faith, and feel those *inward Motions* and *Directions* which they believe follow all those who rise up to this Elevation. But because a man may be much deceived in those Inspirations, therefore they recommend to all who enter into this method, above all other things, the choice of a *Spiritual Guide*,

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who has a right sense and a true taste of those matters, and is by Consequence a Competent Judge in them.

This is all that I will lay before you in general, for giving you some taste of *Molinos's* Methods; and by this you will both see why his *Followers* are called QUIETISTS and why his *Book* is Entitled *il Guida Spirituale*. But if you Intend to Inform your self more particularly of this matter, you must seek for it, either in the *Authors* that I have already mentioned, or in those of which I am to give you some account in the sequel of this Letter. *Molinos* having it seems drunk in the principles of the *Contemplative Devotion* in *Spain*, where the great Veneration that is payed to *S. Teresa* gives it much reputation, he brought over with him to *Italy* a great Zeal for propagating it. He came and settled at *Rome*, where he writ his *Book*, and entred into a great commerce with the *men* of the best Apprehensions, and the most Elevated thoughts that he found there. All that seemed to concur with him in his design for setting on foot this sublimer way, were not perhaps animated with the same principles. Some designed sincerely to elevate the World above those poor and trifling *Superstitions*, that are so much in vogue, among all the *Bigots* of the Church of *Rome*, but more particularly in *Spain* and *Italy*, and which

which are so much set on by almost all the *Regulars*, who seem to place *Religion* chiefly in the exact performing of them. It was thought that others entred into the design upon more Indirect motives. Some perhaps from the aversion that they bore the *Regulars*, were disposed to entertain every thing that might lead mens *Devotions* into other Channells, and to a conduct different from that prescribed by *Friers* and *Jesuites*. Some perhaps had understandings good enough to see the necessity of correcting many things in their Worship, which yet they durst not attack as simply unlawful: so that it might appear more safe to expose these things to the Contempt of the World, by pretending to raise men far above them: and thus they might have hoped to have Introduced a *Reformation* of many Abuses without seeming to do it. *In fine*, some who seemed to enter into this matter, were men that aspired to fame, and hoped by this means to raise a Name to themselves; and to have a Party that should depend upon them: for in such great numbers as seemed to embark in this design, it is not to be imagined that all were acted by the same motives, and that every man had as good Intentions as it is probable *Molinos* himself had.

In the year 1675. his *Book* was first published with *five Approbations* before it. One

of these was by the *Archbishop* of *Rheggio*; another was by the *General* of the *Franciscans*, who was likewise one of the *Qualificators* of the *Inquisition*: another was by *Fa. Martin de Esparza* a *Jesuit*, that had been *Divinity Professor* both at *Salamanca* and at *Rome*; and was at that time a *Qualificator* of the *Inquisition*. As for the rest, I refer you to the *Book* it self. The *Book* was no sooner printed, than it was much read and highly esteemed both in *Italy* and *Spain*. It was considered as a *Book* writ with much *Clearness* and great *simplicity*; and this so raised the *Reputation* of the *Author*, that his *Acquaintance* came to be generally much desired: those who were in the greatest credit in *Rome*, seemed to value themselves upon his friendship. *Letters* were writ to him from all places: so that a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his *method* in many different places of *Europe*. Some secular *Priests* both at *Rome* and *Naples* declared themselves openly for it: and consulted him as a sort of an *Oracle* upon many occasions. But those who joyned themselves to him with the greatest *Heartiness* and *Sincerity*, were some of the *Fathers* of the *Oratory*, in particular *three* of the most *Eminent* of them, who were all advanced at the last promotion of *Cardinals*, *Coloredi*, *Ciceri*, but above all *Petrucci*, who was accounted his *Timothy*. Many of the *Cardinals* were also

observed to court his Acquaintance: and they thought it no small Honour to be reckoned in the number of *Molinos's* Friends. Such were *Cassanata Azolini* and *Carpegna*; but above all *Card. d'Estrees*. The last you must needs know, is a man of great Learning: he was Ambitious to be thought a *Reformer* of some of those Abuses, which are among them, that are too gross to pass upon a man of his freedom of spirit; who had been bred up in the *Sorbon*, and had conversed much with *Mr. de Lannay*. He therefore seemed the most zealous of all others to advance *Molinos's* Design: so that he entered into a very close commerce with him. They were oft and long together: and notwithstanding all the distrust that a *Spaniard* has naturally of a *Frenchman*, and that all men have of one another, who have lived long at *Rome*, yet *Molinos*, who was sincere and plain-hearted, opened himself without reserve to the *Cardinal*: and by his means a Correspondence was settled between *Molinos* and some in *France*: for tho' the spirits of those of that *Nation* go generally too quick for a way of *Devotion*, that was settled and silent, yet some were strongly Inclined to favour it even there. Perhaps it might be considered as a method more like to gain upon *Protestants*, and to facilitate the Design of the *Re-union*, that was so long talked of there. All these things concurred to raise *Molinos's* Character,

rafter, and to render his person so considerable. When the *Pope* that now reigns, was advanced to the *Throne*, which was, you know, in the year 1676. that he took most particular notice of him: and made it Visibly apparent, that even in all that Exaltation, he thought it might contribute to raise his *Character*, if he were considered as a friend of *Molinos's* and an Encourager of his Design: For he lodged him in an Appartment of the *Palace*; and put many singular Marks of his Esteem on him. This made him become still the more Conspicuous, when he had the advantage of *Favour* joyned to his other Qualities: tho he neither seemed to be fond of it, nor lifted up with it. His Conversation was much desired; and many *Priests* came not only to form themselves according to his *Method*, but to dispose all their Penetents to follow it: and it grew to be so much in vogue in *Rome*, that all the *Nuns*, except those who had *Jesuites* to their *Confessors*, began to lay aside their *Rosaries*, and other *Devotions*, and to give themselves much to the practice of *Mental prayer*. This way had more Credit given to it by the translation of a *French Book*, that was writ upon the same subject, which Cardinal *d'Estrees* ordered to be made. It was writ in the form of a *Dialogue*, and was printed in *France* in the year 1669. by the *Approbation* of some of the Doctors of the *Sorbon*. I am able to give you no other account

count of the *Author*, but that in the *Italian* Translation he is called *Francis Mallevalla*, a blind Clergy-man. The *Book* being chiefly formed upon the model of *S. Tereſe*, the Translation of it was dedicated to the *Discalciate Carmelites* of her Order. This did not contribute a little for raiſing the credit of *Molinos's Method*, ſince it appeared to be approved both in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*. At the ſame time *Fa. Petrucci* writ a great many *Letters* and *Treatiſes* relating to a *Contemplative State*: yet he mixed in many of them, ſo many *Rules* relating to the *Devotions* of the *Quire*, that there was leſs occaſion given for cenſure in his *Writings*: They are a little too tedious; but they were writ chiefly for *Nuns* and others, that perhaps could not have apprehended his meaning aright, if he had expreſſed himſelf in a cloſer ſtile, and in fewer words. Both the *Jeſuites* and the *Dominicans* began to be alarmed at the progreſs of *Quietism*: they ſaw clearly, that their trade was in a decay, and muſt decay ſtill more and more, if ſome ſtop was not put to the progreſs of this *new Method*: in order to this, it was neceſſary to decry the *Authors* of it: and becauſe of all the Imputations in the world *Hereſy* is that, which makes the greateſt Impreſſion at *Rome*, *Molinos* and his *Followers* were given out to be *Hereticks*. It being alſo neceſſary to faſten a particular

Name to every new *Heresy*, they branded this with the Name of *Quietism*. Books were also writ by some *Jesuites* against *Molinos* and his Method; in which there appeared much of that Sourness and Malignity that is thought to be peculiar to the *Society*; they were also writ with their usual candor and sincerity. One of the Fathers *Segueri* took a more detestous Method to decry it. He began his Book magnifying the *Contemplative State* highly, as Superiour to all others; and blaming those who had said any thing that seemed to detract from it: yet he corrected all this, by saying, *that very few were capable of it; and that none ought to pretend to it, but those who were called by God to so sublime a State*: and by this he seemed only to censure the Indiscretion of those *Spiritual Guides*, who proposed this way of *Devotion* to all persons, without distinction. He also believed, that such as were at some times called to it, could not remain long in so high a state, to which God called men rather for some happy Minutes, than for a longer continuance: therefore he thought that such persons as were raised to it, ought not to fancy that they were now got so far above all their former helps, as never to need them any more: so he proposed to them the accustoming themselves still to *Meditation*, and to support themselves by that when they could not

contemplate. He censured severely some of *Molinos's* expressions, such as that, *He who had God, had Christ*; as if this were an abandoning of Christ's Humanity: he also insisted much on that of *a fixed looking on God*, and the *suspending of all the Powers of the Soul*: but that on which he insisted most, was that *Molinos* (whom he never named, tho he cited his Words, and described him very plainly) made the Quiet of *Contemplation* to be a *State* to which a man could raise himself; whereas he maintains, that in this Quiet the *Soul* is *passive*, and as it were in a rapture; and that she could not raise her self to it, but that it was an *Immediat* and *Extraordinary Favour*, which was only to be expected from God, and which an humble mind could not so much as ask of him.

These Disputes raised so much noise in *Rome*, that the *Inquisition* took Notice of the whole matter: *Molinos* and his *Book*, and *F. Petrucci's Treatises* and *Letters*, were brought under a second and severer Examination; and here the *Jesuites* were considered as the Accusers. It is true, one of the *Society*, as was formerly told, had approved *Molinos's Book*; but they took care that he should be no more seen at *Rome*: for he was sent away, and it is not known whether, it is generally believed that he is shut up within *Four Walls*; but what truth soever may be in

that, he is no more visible, so careful are they to have all their *Order* speak the same Language; and if any speak in a different stile from the rest, they at least take care that he shall speak no more; yet in this *Examen* that was made, both *Molinos* and *Petrucchi* justified themselves so well, that their Books were again approved, and the Answers which the *Iesuites* had writ, were censured as scandalous: and in this matter *Petrucchi* behaved himself so signally well, that it raised not only the Credit of the Cause, but his own Reputation so much, that soon after he was made *Bishop* of *Iessi*, which was a new Declaration that the *Pope* made in their Favours: their *Books* were now more esteemed than ever, their Method was more followed, and the Novelty of it, the opposition made to it, by a *Society* that has rendred it self odious to all the World, and the new *Approbation* that was given to it after so vigorous an Accusation, did all contribute to raise the Credit and to encrease the Numbers of the Party. *F. Petrucci's* behaviour in his *Bishoprick*, contributed to raise his Reputation still higher, so that his Enemy's were willing to give him no more Disturbance; and indeed there was less occasion given for Censure by his *Writings*, than by *Molino's* little *Book*; whose succinctness made that some Passages were not so fully nor so cautiously expressed, but

but that there was room for making Exceptions to them: on the other hand, *Petrucci* was rather excessively tedious, so that he had so fully explained himself, that he very easily cleared some small difficulties that were made upon some of his *Letters*: In short, every body was that thought either sincerely devout, or that at least affected the Reputation of it, came to be reckoned among the *Quietists*: and if these persons were observed to become more strict in their *Lives*, more retired and serious in their mental *Devotions*, yet there appeared less *Zeal* in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the *Religion* of that *Church*. They were not so assiduous at *Mass*, nor so earnest to procure *Masses* to be said for their Friends: nor were they so frequently either at *Confession* or in *Processions*: so that the Trade of those that live by these things was sensibly sunk: and tho the new *Approbation* that was given to *Molinos's Book* by the *Inquisition* stopt the Mouths of his Enemies, so that they could no more complain of it, yet they did not cease to scatter about Surmises of all that sort of men, as of a *Cabale*, that would have dangerous consequences; they remembered the story of the *Illuminated Men* of *Spain*, and said, here was a Spawn of the same Sect: they insinuated, that they had ill Designs, and profound Secrets among them; that these were in their
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Hearts Enemies to the *Christian Religion*; and that under a pretence of raising men to a most sublime strain of *Devotion*, they intended to wear out of their minds the sense of the Death and Sacrifice of *Christ*, and of the other Mysteries of *Christianity*: and because *Molinos* was by his birth a *Spaniard*, it has been given out of late, that perhaps he was descended of a *Jewish* or *Mahometan Race*, and that he might carry in his Blood, or in his first Education, some Seeds of those *Religions*, which he has since cultivated, with no less Art than Zeal: yet this last Calumny has gained but little Credit at *Rome*; tho it is said, that an Order has been sent to examine the Registers of the Baptism, in the place of his Birth, to see if his Name is to be found in it or not.

Thus he saw himself attacked with great vigour, and with an unrelenting Malice. He took as much care as was possible to prevent, or to shake off these Imputations; for he writ a Treatise, of *frequent and dayly Communion*, which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the *Regulars* at *Rome*, among whom one is *Martinez* a *Jesuite*, the Senior *Divinity Reader* in their College at *Rome*. This was printed with his *Spiritual Guide*, in the year 1675. and in the *Preface* he protests, that he had not writ it with any design to engage himself into mat-
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ters of Controversy, but that it was drawn from him, by the most earnest Solicitations of some Zealous Persons. In it he pressed a *daily Communion*, by a vast number of Passages that he cited both out of the *Ancient Fathers*, and the *Schoolmen*; yet he qualified this and all his other directions in the matters of *Devotion* by that which he constantly repeats, which is the necessity of being conducted in all things by a *Spiritual Guide*: whether he intended to soften the aversion that the *Jesuites* had to him, by refuting some parts of Mr. *Arnaud's* famous Book of *Frequent Communion* or not, I cannot tell, but in this Discourse he answers some of the Objections that Mr. *Arnaud* had made to *Frequent Communion*, and in particular, to that which he makes one main ground of restraining men from it, which was the obliging them to go thro with their Penitence and Mortifications, before they were admitted to the *Sacrament*; whereas *Molinos* makes the being free of *Mortal Sin*, the only necessary qualification. In this Discourse one sees more of a heated Eloquence, than of severe or solid Reasoning: yet it presses the point of *daily Communion*, and of an *inward application of Soul to Iesus Christ, and to his Death*, so vehemently, that it might have been hoped that this should have put an end to those Surmises, that had been thrown out to de-

fame

same him; as if he had designed to lay aside the Humanity of our Saviour, by his way of *Devotion*: but there is no cure for Jealousy; especially when Malice and Interest are at bottom: so new matter was found for censure in this Discourse. He had asserted, that there was no other Preparation necessary, but to be free of *Mortal Sin*: so it was given out, that he intended to lay aside *Confession*: and tho he had advised the use of a *Spiritual Guide*, in this, as well as in all other things; yet the necessity of *Confession* before *Communion*, was not expressed: so that by this people seemed to be set at Liberty from that Obligation: and it was said, that what he advised with relation to a *Spiritual Guide*, lookt rather like the taking some general Directions and Council from ones *Priest*, than the coming alwayes to him as the *Minister* of the Sacrament of *Pennance* before every *Communion*; and to support this Imputation, it was said, that all of that *Cabale* had set down this for a Rule, by which they conducted their Penitents, that they might come to the Sacrament, when they found themselves out of the state of *Mortal sin*, without going at every time to *Confession*; but I will not enlarge further upon the matters of *Doctrine* or *Devotion*, in which you may think that I have dwelt too long, for a man of my Breeding and Profession: and I should think so
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my self, if I were not confining my self exactly to the *Memorials* and *Informations* that I received at *Rome*. You will see by the *Articles* objected to the *Quietists*, and censured by one of the *Inquisition*, which I send you with this *Letter*, what are all the other points that are laid to their charge. Only I must advertise you of one thing, that their Friends at *Rome* say, that a great many of these *Articles* are only the Calumnies of their Enemies, and that they are disowned by them: but that they have fastned thesethings on them, to render them odious, and to make them suffer with the less Pitty: which is the putting in practice the same Maximes which we object to their Predecessors, who condemned the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* of a great many Errors of which they alwayes protested themselves Innocent: yet the Accusing them of those horrid Opinions and Practices, prevailed upon the Simplicity and Credulity of the Age, to animate them with all the Degrees of Rage against a Sect of men, that were set forth as Monsters: the same Maximes and Politicks are still imputed, and perhaps not without reason to that severe Court, which if you believe many has as little regard to Justice as it has to Mercy. Some have carried their Jealousies so far against the *Quietists*, as to compare their Maxims to those of *Socrates* his *School*, and

his

his *Followers* after his death, when they saw what his Freedom in speaking openly against the established *Religion* had cost him: they resolved to comply with the received Customs in their exterior, and not to communicate their *Philosophy* to the Vulgar; nor even to their Disciples, till they had prepared them well to it, by training them long in the precepts of *Vertue*, which they called the *Purgative State*: and when men were well tried and exercised in this, then they communicated to them their sublimer Secrets: the meaning of all which was, in short, that they would not discover their Opinions in those points that were contrary to the received *Religion*, and to the publick *Rites* to any, but to those of whom they were well assured, that they would not betray them: and therefore they satisfied themselves with having true and just notions of things; but they practised outwardly as the Rabble did. They thought it was no great matter what Opinions were entertained by them, and that none but *men* of *Noble* and elevated Tempers deserved that such sublime Truths should be communicated to them, and that the herd of the *Vulgar* neither were worthy nor capable of Truth, which is too pure and too high a thing for such mean and base minds. The Affinity of the matter makes me remember a conversation that I once had with one of the wittiest
Clergy-

Clergy-men of France, who is likewise esteemed one of the *Learnedst Men* in it ; He said, *The World could not bear a Religion calculated only for Philosophers: The people did not know what it was to think, and to govern themselves by the Impressions that abstracted thoughts made on their minds: they must have outward things to strike upon their senses and Imaginations, to amuse, to terrify and to excite them: so legends, dreadful stories and a pompous Worship were necessary to make the Impressions of Religion go deep into such coarse souls: for a Lancet, said he, can open a vein, but an Axe must fell down a Tree; so he concluded, that the Reformation had reduced the Christian Religion to such severe terms, that among us it was only a Religion for Philosophers: and since few were capable of that strength of thought: he concluded, that if the Church of Rome had perhaps too much of this exterior pomp, those of the Reformation had stript it too much, and had not left enough of garnishing, and of the bells and feathers for amusing the rabble. The speculation seems pretty enough, if Religion were to be considered only as a contrivance of ours, to be fitted by us to the tempers and humours of People; and not as a Body of *Divine Truths*, that are conveyed to us from heaven.*

Thus was *Molinos's* method censured or approved in *Rome*, according to the different Apprehensions and Interests of those that

made Reflections upon it. But the *Jesuites* finding they were not so omnipotent in this *Pontificate*, as they have been formerly, resolved to carry their point another way. I need not tell you how great an Ascendant *F. la Chaise* has gained over that *Monarch*, that has been so long the *terror* of *Europe*: and how much all the *Order* is now in the Interests of *France*. The *Zeal* with which that *King* has been extirpating *Heresy*; Furnishes them with abundance of matter for high *Panegyricks*; since that which in the opinion of many will pass down to posterity, for the lasting reproach of a *Reign*, which in its former parts has seemed to approach even to *Augustus's* Glory, but has received in this a stain, which with Indifferent men passes for a blind, poor-spirited and furious *Bigottry*, and is represented by *Protestants* as a complication of as much Treachery and Cruelty as the World ever saw; yet among the *bigots* it is set forth as the brightest side of that Glorious *Reign*: and therefore it has been often cited by them with relation to the cold correspondence that is observed to be between the *Courts* of *Rome*, and that at *Versailles*, that nothing was more Incongruous, than to see the *Head of the Church* dispute so obstinately with its *Eldest son* such a trifle, as the matter of the *Regale*, and that with so much eagerness; and that he shew'd so little regard to so great a *Monarch*, that seemed to sacrifice
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all his own *Interests* to thole of his *Religion* : It is believed, that the *Jesuits* at *Rome*, propo-
 ted the matter of *Molinos* to *F. la Chaise*, as a fit
 reproach to be made to the *Pope*, in that *Kings*
 name, that while he himself was Employing
 all possible means to extirpate *Heresy* out of his
Dominions. The *Pope* was cherishing it in his
 own *Palace*: and that while the *Pope* preten-
 ded to such an unyielding *Zeal* for the *Rights*
 of the *Church*, he was entertaining a person
 who was corrupting the *doctrine*, or at least
 the *devotion*, of that *Body*, of which he had
 the honour to be the *Head*. But here I must
 add a thing which comes very uneasily from
 me, and yet I cannot keep my word to you,
 of giving you a faithful account of all that I
 could learn of this matter at *Rome*, without
 mentioning it. I do not pretend to affirm it
 is true, for I only tell you what is believed at
Rome, and not what I believe my self, nor
 what I would have you to believe; for I know
 you have so high an esteem of Cardinal d'E-
strees, that you will not easily believe any thing
 that is to his Disadvantage. It is then said,
 that he being commanded by the *Orders* that
 were sent him from the *Court of France*, to
 prosecute *Molinos* with all possible vigour, re-
 solved to sacrifice his old *Friend*, and all that
 is sacred in *Friendship*, to the Passion he has for
 His Masters *Glory*; finding then that there
 was not matter enough for an Accusation

against *Molinos*, he resolved to supply that defect himself; so that he, who was once as deep as any man alive in the whole Secret of this Affair, went and Informed the *Inquisition* of many particulars, for which tho there was no other evidence but his Testimony, yet that was sufficient to raise a great Storm against *Molinos*; and upon this delation, *he* and a few others of his friends were put in the *Inquisition*; but this was managed so secretly, that all that is pretended to be known concerning it, is, that upon a new Prosecution both *Molinos* and *Petrucci* were brought before the *Inquisition* in 1684. *Petrucci* was soon absolved; for there was so little objected to him, and he answered that with so much Judgement and Temper, that he was quickly dismissed; and tho *Molinos's* matter was longer in agitation, yet it was generally expected that he should have been acquitted. In conclusion, a Correspondence held by him all *Europe* over, was objected to him: but that could be no Crime, unless the matter of that Correspondence was Criminal: some suspitions papers were found in his Chamber, but as he himself explained them, nothing could be made out of them, till Cardinal *d'Estrees* delivered a Letter and a Message from the King of France to the Pope, as was formerly mentioned: and that the Cardinal added, that he himself could prove against *Molinos*, more than was necessary

cessary to shew that he was guilty of *Heresy*. The *Pope* said not a word to this, but left the matter to the *Inquisitors*; and the *Cardinal* went to them, and gave other senses of those doubtful Passages, that were in *Molinos's Books and Papers*, and pretended that he knew from himself, what his true Meaning in them was. The *Cardinal* owned, that he had lived with him in the Appearances of Friendship: but he said, he had early smelled out an ill design in all that matter; that he saw of what dangerous consequence it was like to be; but yet, that he might fully discover what was at the bottom of it, he confessed, he seemed to assent to several things, which he detested: and that by this means he saw into their secret, and knew all the steps they made, he still cautiously observing all that past among them till it should be necessary for him to discover and crush this Cabal. I need not tell you how severely this is censured, by those who believe it. I would rather hope, that it is not true, how positively soever it may be affirmed at *Rome*; but tho it is hard to reconcile such a way of proceeding with the common rules of human Society and of Vertue, yet at *Rome* a Zeal for the Faith, and against *Heresie*, supersedes all the Bonds of *Morality* or *Humanity*, which are only the common Vertues of *Heathens*.

In short, what truth soever may be in this

particular, relating to the *Cardinal*, it is certain that *Molinos* was clapt up by the *Inquisition* in *May* 1685. and so an end was put to all Discourses relating to him: and in this silence the business of the *Quietists* was laid to sleep, till the ninth of *February* 1687. that of a sudden it broke out again in a much more surprising manner.

The Count *Vespiniani* and his *Lady*, Don *Paulo Rocchi*, Confessor to the Prince *Borghese*, and some of his family, with several others, in all 70 persons, were clapt up. Among whom many were highly esteemed both for their *Learning & Piety*. The things laid to the charge of the *Churchmen* were their neglecting to say their *Breviary*; and for the rest, they were accused for their going to *Communion* without a going at every time first to *Confession*: and in a word, it was said, that they neglected all the exterior parts of their *Religion*, and gave themselves up wholly to Solitude and inward *Prayer*. The Countesse *Vespiniani* made a great noise of this matter; for she said, she had never revealed her *Method of Devotion* to any Mortal, but to her *Confessor*, and so it was not possible that it could come to their knowledge any other way, but by his betraying that *Secret*: and she said, it was time for people to give over going to *Confession*, if *Priests* made this use of it, to discover those who trusted their *secretest* Thoughts to them; and

and therefore she said, that in all time coming, she would make her *Confessions* only to God. This had got vent, and I heard it generally talked up and down *Rome*: so the *Inquisitors* thought it more fitting to dismiss *Her* and her *Husband*, than to give any occasion to lessen the credit of *Confession*; they were therefore let out of prison, but they were bound to appear whensoever they should be called upon. I cannot express to you, the Consternation that appeared both in *Rome* and in many other parts of *Italy*, when in a months time about 200 persons were put in the *Inquisition*: and that all of the sudden, a *Method of Devotion*, that had passed up and down *Italy* for the highest Elevation to which mortals could aspire, was found to be *Heretical*, and that the chief promoters of it were shut up in prison.

But the most surprising part of the whole story, was, that the *Pope* himself came to be suspected as a favourer of this new *Heresy*: so that on the 13th. of *February* some were deputed by the *Court* of the *Inquisition* to examine him, not in the quality of *Christs Vicar*, or *St. Peters successor*, but in the single quality of *Benedict Odescalchi*: what passed in that Audience, was too great a Secret for me to be able to penetrate into it: but upon this there were many and strange Discourses up and down *Rome*: & while we *Hereticks* were upon that asking, where was the *Popes Infallibility*?

I remember a very pretty *Answer* that was made me. They said, the *Popes Infallibility* did not flow from any thing that was Personal in him, but from the care that Christ had of his *Church*: for a *Pope*, said one, may be a *Heretick* as he is a private man: but Christ, who said to *St. Peter*, *feed my sheep*, will certainly so order matters that the *Pope* shall never decree *Heresy*, and by consequence shall never give the flock *Poyson* instead of the *Bread of Life*; while the *Popes Heresy* was only a personal thing, it could have no other effect but to damn himself: but if he decreed *Heresy*, this corrupted the whole *Church*: and since Christ had committed all the flock to the *Popes* care, it ought to be believed, that he would never suffer them to pronounce *Heresy ex Cathedra*, as they call it. This had some colour in it, that was plausible: but the shift of which another served himself, seemed Intolerable. He said, the *Pope* could never decree *Heresy*: for which he argued thus: he must be a *Heretick* before he can decree it; and upon that he gave me many Authorities to prove, that in the minute that the *Pope* became a *Heretick*, he fell *ipso facto* from his Dignity; and therefore he said, the *Pope* could not decree *Heresy*; for he must have fallen from his *Chair*, and have forfeited his Authority, before he could possibly do it: so that he was no more *Pope*. This lookt so like a Juggle of the *Schools*, that I confess it made

made no great Impression on me. Imagine what a thing it would be, to see a *King* accused of *Treason* by one of his own *Courts*; and then you have fancied somewhat that comes near this attempt of the *Inquisition's*: which being a *Court* authorised by the *Pope*, yet had the Boldness to examin himself: and it had certainly been an odd piece of News, if upon the *Popes* Answers, the *Inquisition* had stained him with the Imputation of *Heresy*, and had lodged him in the *Minerva*. Upon the discourse to which this gave occasion, I have heard the Authority of the *Court of Inquisition* magnified to so Extravagant a degree, that some have asserted, it was in some respects *superiour* even to the *Pope* himself. Two days after that, the *Inquisition* sent a Circular *Letter* to Card. *Cibo*, as the chief *Minister*, to be sent by him all about *Italy*, of which I send you a Copy in *Italian*: for tho it ought to have been writ in *Latin*, yet I do not know how it came to be writ in *Italian*: for the writing it in the Vulgar language, was censured not only as an Indecent thing, but as that which made the matter more publick; it was addressed to all *Prelats*; and it warns them, that whereas many *Schools* and *Fraternities* were formed in several parts of *Italy*, in which some persons, under a pretence of leading people into the *Wayes of the Spirit*, and to the prayer of *quietness*, they instilled in them many

abominable *Heresies*; therefore a stricte charge was given to dissolve all these *Societies*: and to oblige all the *Spiritual Guides* to tread in the known Paths: and in particular, to take care, that none of that sort should be suffered to have the Direction of the *Nunneries*, Order was likewise given to proceed in the way of Justice against those who should be found guilty of these abominable *Errors*. After this a strict enquiry was made into all the *Nunneries* of Rome; for most of their *Directors* and *Confessours* were found to be engaged into this new *Method*. It was found that the *Carmelites*, the *Nuns* of the *Conception*, of the *Palestrina*, and *Albano*, were wholly given up to *Prayer* and *Contemplation*, and that instead of their *Beads*, and their *Hours*, and the other Devotions to *Saints*, or *Images*, they were much alone, and oft in the Exercise of *Mental Prayer*: and when they were asked, why they had laid aside the use of their *Beads*, and their antient *Forms*; their Answer was, that their *Directors* had advised them, to wean themselves from these things, as being but Rude Beginnings, and Hindrances to their further progress: they justified also their Practice from those *Books* that had been lately published by the approbation of the *Inquisitors* themselves, such as *Molinos* and *Petrucci's* Books. When report was made of this matter to the *Inquisition*, they sent Orders to take
out

out of the *Nuns* hands all those *Boaks*, and such Forms of *Devotion* as were written in that strain; and they required them to return again to the use of their *Beads*, and their other abandoned *Forms*, which was no small mortification to them. The Circular *Letter* produced no great effects; for most of the *Italian Bishops* were either extream unconcerned in all those matters, or were Inclined to *Molinos's Method*: and whereas it was Intended, that this as well as all the other *Orders* that come from the *Inquisition*, should be kept secret, yet it got abroad, and *Copies* of it were in all peoples hands, so that this gave the *Romans* the more occasion to discourse of these matters, which troubled the *Inquisitors* extreamly, who love not to have the World look into their Proceedings, nor to descant upon them: they blamed Card. *Cibo*, as if this matter was grown so publick by his means: but he on the other hand blamed the *Inquisitors* for it, and his *Secretary* blamed both. It was also said, that the *Pope* was not pleased with Card. *Cibo's* conduct, and that he thought he had suffered this matter to go too far, without giving a check to the *Inquisitors*, when it might have been more easily done; wheras now matters are gone to that height, that many think they cannot end without some very great Scandal. For the *Quality* of the *Prisoners* is considerable; some

some of Cardinal *Petrucci's Domesticks*, and both his *Secretary* and his *Nephew* were of the Number; and tho the *Cardinal* himself came to *Rome* soon after, yet he was there for some time *Incognito*. It is generally believed, that both he and the *Cardinal Caraffa*, and *Cardinal Ciceri*, who is Bishop of *Como*, are in great apprehensions of a storm from the *Inquisition*: and the Ceremony of giving them their *Hats* being so long delayed, was generally ascribed to some complaints that it seems the *Inquisitors* made; yet in Conclusion they appeared in *Publick*, and had there *Hats* given them. The Duke of *Ceri*, *Don Livio*, that is the *Popes Nephew*, is believed to be deeply engaged in the matter: for the Count *Vespiniani*, who was first seized on, is his particular Friend and Favorite: and is a sort of a *Domestick* of his. *Don Livio* himself is likewise a person of a Melancholy Temper, that is much retired; and this at present is enough to make a man pass there for a *Quietist*. He went from *Rome* to a House he has not far from *Civitavecchia*, to avoid, as was thought, the falling into the hands of the *Inquisitors*. The *Pope* writ oft for him, before he could prevail with him to return; and it was said, that he did not think himself secure even after all the Assurances that the *Pope* gave him, that no harm should come to him; for it might be justly
enough

enough apprehended, that the *Inquisitors*, who had been so hardy as to examin the *Pope*, would make no Ceremony with his *Nephew*, if they found matter against him.

But among all that were clapt up; Father *Appiani* was the man that surpris'd the *Romans* the most: he was seised on the first Sunday of *April*; he was esteem'd the learnedest and Eminentest *Jesuite* that was in the whole *Roman Colledge*. This did not a little mortifie the *Society*; one of their *Fathers* had approved of *Molinos's* Book, and now another was found to be engaged in this matter: upon which a *Priest*, that was indeed no Friend to their Order, said to me, that *this was their true Genius, to have men among them of all sides*; that so which side soever prevailed, they might have some among them, that should have a considerable share in the Honour of the Victorious. And thus if *Molinos's* Method had been established, then they would have gloried as much in *Esparza* and *Appiani*, as they are now ashamed of them. It is likely that they had not discovered *Appiani's* favouring the party, otherwise no doubt they had been before-hand with the *Inquisition*, and had shut him up as they did *Esparza*; and so have covered themselves from the reproach of having a man that favoured *Heresy* among them. But the Confidence of that *Society* is an Original; and since
I have

I have this occasion to mention them, I will here digress a little from the business of *Quietism*, to give you account of some of their Practices at *Rome*, with relation to *English Affairs*, with which I was made acquainted during my stay there.

There is a *Jesuit* belonging to the *English House*, *F. Cann*, well known in *England*, by some of his *Writings*, and in particular by one against the *Oath of Allegiance*, in which he pleads for the *Popes* Power of deposing *Princes*; it seems he was sorry to see that the Discourse which he had writ against the taking that *Oath*, had no better effect, and that the *Papists* generally took it: so he resolved to carry this matter further, therefore tho he had no other Character but that of a *Father* of the *Society*; he proposed at *Rome*, that a formal *Oath*, abjuring the *Oath of Allegiance*, should be taken by all who had taken the other; and that for all that should be received to be *Students* in that House, in all time coming, they should be bound by an *Oath* never to swear the *Oath of Allegiance*: since he said, a time might come, in which it should be necessary for their Interests, that they should be under no such tie to a *Hetical Prince*: But because it was not safe for them to enjoin any new *Oath*, without an order from the *Court* of the *Rota*, according to the Forms there, it was necessary to pre-
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sent a *Memorial* for this: and that ought to come from the *Protector of the Nation concerned*: So he ought to have address'd himself to Cardinal *Howard*; but the *Cardinal's* temper; and his principles, with relation to Civil Obedience, were so well known; that *F. Cann* thought to carry the business without his having any share in it. Yet he found himself mistaken; for the *Judges* of the *Rota* were surpris'd at the Proposition, and gave notice of it to the *Pope*, who lookt upon it as a thing of very bad consequence: and askt Cardinal *Howard*, if it had been set on by any direction from him; for it seems his Name was made use of, tho without his knowledg. The *Cardinal* was surpris'd at it, and highly resent'd the Impudence of *F. Cann*: He sent a Complaint of it to the *General* of the *Society*, who, to give the *Cardinal* some content, gave *Cann* a Reprimand, and sent him out of *Rome*: But the *Jesuites* carry a Grudge in their Hearts to the *Cardinal* for this, and other things: and this appeared very visibly during the Earl of *Castlemain's* Embassay: for tho he lodged for some time in the *Cardinal's Palace*, yet he gave himself up so intirely to the Conduct of the *Jesuites*, that the *Cardinal* was quite shut out of the Councils: and while *Fa. Morgan* came at all hours to the *Ambassadour*, even in his night Gown and Shippers, which was thought an

an unusual thing at *Rome*, where publick persons live in an exactness of Ceremony: once the *Cardinal* was made to wait in the Antichamber, while the *Father* was within entertaining the *Ambassadour* in this last dress, who coming out in it, the *Cardinal* was so provoked at this Indignity, that was done him, and at the *Iesuites* Insolence, that he threatned to fling him down stairs, if he ever presumed to come within his House again in that Habit: and indeed, a *Cardinal* makes so great a figure in *Rome*, that such an usage of him was thought a little Extraordinary, but the *Cardinal* is of so mild a temper; and the *Iesuites* are so violent, as to be reckoned the *Horns of the Beast*, that no wonder if a Sympathy of temper made the *Ambassador* fall in more naturally with them.

But I will now return to the *Quietists*, from whom, the particular regard that I hear to the Order of the *Iesuites*, has diverted me so long. The *Prisons* of the *Holy Office* were full, and the Terrour of this matter had struck so many, that no body could guess when or where it should stop. It is said, that the *Inquisitours* have found in some of their Examinations, that they have to do with men that are learned er than themselves: and that their Prisoners are steady and resolute. It is also said, that their Friends abroad have expressed a great concern for them, and for the

the cause of their Sufferings, and that many Letters have been writ to the *Inquisitors*, wishing them to consider well what they do to their Prisoners; and assuring them, that they will maintain their Interests: and that they are ready to seal them with their Blood. It is certain, the *Pope* and Cardinal *Cibo* are much troubled; to see that this matter is gone so far, and is now so much talked of. Cardinal *Petrucci* is still much in the *Popes* favour, and was suffered not long ago to go visit *Molinos*, with whom he had a long conversation all alone, but the subject and the effects of it are not known: yet a severe Sentence is expected against *Molinos*. Those that speak the mildest, think he will be a Prisoner for life: but a little time will shew more than I can presume to tell you. It is a terrible thing to have the whole body of the *Regulars* against one, who according to the estimate that is made at *Rome*, are about 500000. Persons, and of that number it is said the *Jesuites* make 40000. In the City of *Naples* alone it is believed the *Regulars* and other Ecclesiasticks amount to 25000. so it is very likely, that when such Bodies; and *Molinos* are in the ballance, *Cajaphas's* Resolution may once more take place: *It is expedient that one man should die, rather than that those Nations of Regulars should perish*, or their Trade and Profits be lessned. But to come to an end,

the *Inquisitors* have prepared the world for any Judgments that they may pass in this matter, by ordering one of their number, to draw up a Censure of 19. Articles, which he pretends to have collected out of the *Writings* and *Doctrines* of the *Quietists*, and thus by representing them so odiously, they have as much as in them lies, prevented those Compassions which may perhaps be kindled by the sufferings of those whom they may condemn as guilty of those censured Opinions. I have now given you all the Informations that I could pick up of this matter, with all possible sincerity; for I have represented this business to you, just as it was set before my self, without making any Addition to it, or interposing my poor judgment in such a matter, which I leave to you, and to such as you are. I conclude, referring you for a further light into this Affair to the Censure of the *Inquisitors*, which I procured in *Italian*, for tho probably it is written Originally in *Latin*, yet I could not get a Copy of the *Latin* Censure, and so was forced to content my self with this that follows. It appears by it, how low the study both of *Divinity* and of the *Scriptures* is sunk at *Rome*: some few strictures will be found on the Margin of the *English Translation* of this *Censur*, which I have added, because some perhaps may desire to see this, who do not understand *Italian*.

The

THE
CIRCULAR LETTER,

That was sent about *Italy*, by the
Order of the *Inquisition*.

Em^{mo} e R^{mo} Sig^e mio Off^{mo}

E Ssendo venuto à notizia di questa Sacra Congregatione, che in diversi luoghi d'Italia si vadi-
no poco à poco erigendo, e forse anche si siano
erette certe Scuole ò Compagnie, Fratellanze, ò
Radunanze, ó con altro nomi, ò nelle Chiese, ò
nelli Oratorii, ò in Case private à titolo di Confe-
renze Spirituali, ó siano di sole Donne, ó di soli
Huomini, ò misti, nelle quali alcuni direttori Spi-
rituali inesperti della vera via dello Spirito calcata
da Santi, e forse anche malitiosi sotto titolo d'instra-
dare l'anime per l'Oratione, che chiamano la
la Quietè, ò di pura Fede interna, ó con altri no-
me, benchè dal principio apparisca, che persuadino
massime d'isquisita perfettione, ad ogni modo da
certi principii mal'intesi, e peggio praticati vanno
insensibilmente instillando nella mente de semplici
diversi gravissimi errori, che poi abortiscono anco
in aperte Eresie, & abominevoli laidezze con dis-
capito irreparabile di quelle anime, che per solo
zelo di ben servire à Dio si mettono in mano di sim-
plice Direttori, come pur troppo è noto esser segui-
to in qualche luogo. Hannò perciò questi miei
Em. Signori Colleghi Generali Inquisitori stimato

opportuno di significare à V. E. con la presente che si fa circolare à tutti gl' Ordinarii d'Italia ; acciò si compiaccia d'invigilare sopra qualsivoglia nuove adunanze simili diverse dalle già praticate & approvate ne luoghi Cattolici , e trovandone de tali onninamente, le abolisca ; ne permetta in avvenire che in modo alcuno ne vengano instituite , & insista , che i Direttori Spirituali camininino la strada battuta della perfettione Christiana , senza affettare singolarità di vie di Spirito , con avvertire sopra tutto , che nessuna persona sospetta di novità simili s'ingerisca à diriggere ne in voce , ne in scritto le monache , acciò che non entri ne' Monasterii quella peste , che pur troppo potrebbe contaminare la spiritual intentione di queste Spose del Signore. Il che tutto si rimette alla prudenzà dell' E. V. con che però non s'intenda con quelle provisionali , che ella farà per fare preclusa la via di procedere , anche per via di giustitia : quando si scoprissero in qualche persona tali errori non escusabili. In tanto si v' à quì digerendo la materia , per poter à suo tempo avvertire il Christianesimo degli errori da evitarli. E le Bacio ,
15. Febrari , 1687.

THE CIRCULAR LETTER,

Put in English

Most Eminent, or Most Reverend Lord :

THIS Holy Congregation , having received Advertisement , that there are some
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in divers places of *Italy*, that by little and little are erecting, or perhaps that have already erected, some *Schools*, *Companies*, *Fraternities*, or *Assemblies*, under some other Denomination, either in *Churches*, *Chappels*, or in private *Houses*, under the pretence of *Spiritual Conferences*; and these consisting either only of Women, or only of Men, or of both Sexes together, in which some *Spiritual Guides*, that are unacquainted with the true way of the Spirit, in which the Saints have trod, and that are perhaps men of ill designs, do under the pretence of leading Souls by the *Prayer of Quietness*, as they call it, or of *Pure Inward Faith*, or under any other name, in which tho in the beginning that they carry men, by *Maxims* that are of the highest perfection, yet at last they by certain principles, that are ill understood, and worse practised, do insensibly infuse into the minds of the simple, divers grievous *Errors*, that do break out into open *Heresy*, and to abominable Practices, to the irreparable prejudice of those Souls, who out of their single Zeal to serve God well, put themselves in the hands of such simple *Directors*, which is too notoriously known to have fallen out in some places. In consideration of all this, my most Eminent *Lords* and *Colleagues*, the *Inquisitors General*, have thought fit to signify this to you, by this *Circular Letter*, which is sent to all the Or-

dinaries of Italy, that so you may be pleased, to watch over all such new Assemblies, that are different from those that are practised and approved in other *Catholick* places: and that where you find any such, you abolish them entirely, and suffer them not to be any further advanced; and that you take care that *Spiritual Directors* shall tread in the *beaten Paths of Christian Perfection*, without affecting any Singularity in the *Wayes of the Spirit*: and that above all other things, you take care, that no person suspected of these Novelties, be suffered to thrust himself into the direction of *Nunneries*, either by Word or Writing: that so this Pest may not enter within those Houses; which may too much corrupt the Spiritual Intention of those *Spouses of Christ*. All this is referred to your prudence: but with all this provisional care, it is not to be understood as if hereby the proceedings in the way of Justice, were to be hindred, in case any persons are found to hold inexcusable Errors. In the mean while, care is taken so to digest this matter, that *Christendom* may be in due time advertised of those Errors that are to be avoided.

Rome the 15. of February, 1687.

THE
CENSURE
OF THE
Opinions of the Quietists,

Prepared for the *Inquisition.*

*Errori principali di quelli, che esercitano
l'Oratione di Quietè, co' le Risposte.*

LA Contemplatione, o vero Oratione di Quietè consiste in costituirsi alla presenza di Dio; non un atto di Fede oscura, pura, & amorosa, e di poi senza passar più avanti, e senza ammettere disorso, specie, o pensiero alcuno, starsene così otioso; par esser contrario alla riverenza dovuta à Dio il esplicare quel purissimo atto, il quale però è di tanto merito, e vigore, che contiene in se, anzi supera con gran vantaggio tutti insieme li meriti delle altre virtù, e persevera tutt' il tempo della vita, mentre non si ritratti con un atto contrario: Onde non è necessario reiterarlo, e replicarlo.

CENSURA E RISPOSTA,

Niun' atto di Fede ci costituisse presenti à Dio, il quale è dentro à noi per indispensabile necessità della tua Immensità, e però spesso dicevano Elia, Michea, & altri Profeti: *Vivit Deus in cujus conspectu*

sto. E con Agostino dicono i Teologi: *In Deum vivimus, movemur, & sumus.* Dunque l'atto di Fede, che suppone l'essere della Creatura, suppone quaggià prima nella presenza di Dio, e solamente rassegnatione di Spirito nelle braccia della Divinità. Intorno à questa all' hora sarà contemplatione, quando l'Anima contemplerà, e non sarà otiosa, dopo il primo atto di Fede oscura, pura, & amorosa. poi falsità evidente il dire, che non sono necessari altri buoni atti. L'Atto buono, per esser finito, è migliorabile, per mezzo della continuatione di simili atti. Ne' la multiplicatione di atti virtuosi è contrario alla riverenza dovuta à Dio, perchè l'Anima non si tedia, ò impedisce, essendo libero da' passioni, & in tanto non conviene replicare riverentiali a' Maggiori del Mondo, in quanto questi, secondo che porta l'esperienza, sono alteri, impedibili, ò tediabili della vista di simili atti frequentati. L'atto dunque in se stesso buono, multiplicato sarà un buono maggiore, e però da' Dio approvato, a più remunerabile, che un' atto semplice. Nella Contemplatione poi si stà in atto di opera, non ostinatamente sopra l'attopassato, essendo contemplare l'operare mentalmente, ancorche non anco vi si richieda.

II. Senza la Contemplatione, per mezzo di meditatione non può darsi un passo nella Perfectione.

es: Per meditarfi dal Christiano precisamente la Passione di Christo, si riflette, che per amor di Dio l'Uomo tanto pati un Dio, unde può risolverfi a amarlo, e volerlo obedire in tutto che comanda, e mettere in pratica (con la gratia di Dio, che sempre assiste) tal santa deliberatione. Dunque per mezzo di Meditatione può bene incaminarsi l'Anima alla Perfectione. Anzi senza contemplare, e senza medi-

purche s'opri secondo li Leggi, con l'ajuto di Dio si puo ogn' uno salvare; non si salva poi chi non è perfetto, & Amico di Dio. Dunque è falsissima l'opinione contenuta nel secondo Capo.

III. La Scienza, e Dottrina anche Teologica, e Sacra, è d'impedimento, e repugnanza alla Contemplatione, della quale non possono dar giuditio gli Huomini Dotti, mà solo li Meditativi, e Contemplativi.

R. La Dottrina Teologica notifica stabili in noi l'Oggetto della Contemplatione, che dicono i Quietisti esser la Divina Essenza. Dunque in noi è compinibile con la Contemplatione, alla quale se la Teologia repugnasse l'istesso sarebbe esser Contemplativo, e nulla saper d'Iddio Teologamente, e così Agostino, e gli altri Santi Dottori, e Luminari della Chiesa, perche erano scientifici, si doverebbero incapaci esser stati della Contemplatione. Il che è falso, imperocche Dio, che institui il Sacerdotio, come Ministero il più degno, non v'è ragione, che habbia voluto i Sacerdoti, ma' che non fossero Contemplativi, già che volse col Sacerdotio unita la Scienza, mentre nella Sacra Scrittura minaccio per Osea Profeta à chi disprezzatore della Scienza esercitava il Sacerdotio. *Tu repulisti scientiam, & ego repellam te, ne Sacerdotio fungaris mihi.* E tralascio altre Scritture, e raggioni, perche mi viene incaricata la breuità. In quanto poi al che si dice in questo 3. cap. che della Contemplatione non possono dar giuditio li Dotti, si vede apertamente, che l'ignoranza di questi spiritelli senza intelligenza ha una temerità di non volar soggiacere all' emenda, per mezzo dell' Infalibile sentimento de' Scientifici.

IV. Non può darsi perfetta Contemplatione, se non circa la sola Divinità. I Misteri dell' Incarnazione

natione, Vita, e Passione del nostro Salvatore non sono oggetto di Contemplatione, anzi l'impediscono, onde devono da Contemplativi tenersi lontani; ò solo considerarsi spregiatamente.

R. Se la Contemplatione è un affettione dell'Intelletto, e della Volontà con l'Ogetto, mediante la gratia di Dio, in un raccoglimento di Spirito, potrà la vita di Christo contemplarsi, perche à quella il Christiano può farsi presente in Spirito, & affettive con atto di Fede, & Amore. Aggiungo che se Christo venne à piantar Paradisi in terra per commissione dell'Eterno Padre, come disse il Profeta Isaia, *Posui verbum meum in ore tuo, ut plantas Cœlos, & fundes terram.* Dove la Parafrase Caldea così legge: *Ut plantas Cœlos in terra:* Come dire (si come l'intese Girolamo) che piantasse le contentezze negli Huomini disgratiati per il peccato originale: E se i Contemplativi si portano sopra se stessi alla Consolationi Divine nella loro Contemplativi, perche si deve disprezzare, e tener lontano Christo, che è l'immediato Datore? Christo non impedisce l'atto del Contemplatione se venne à compartirci perfettioni, e contenti spirituali, che sono il fine de' Contemplativi.

V. Le Penitenze corporali, l'austerità della vita non convengono alli Contemplativi, anzi meglio si comincia la conversione dalla vita contemplativa, che dalla Purgativa, e dalle Penitenze. Ancora gli effetti della Divotione sensibile, la tenerezza del Cuore, le Lagrime, e Consolationi spirituali si devono fuggire, anzi dispreggiare da' Contemplativi, come cose repugnanti alla Contemplatione.

R. Le Mortificationi dispongono lo Spirito, acciò viva sopra le motioni del senso, e perciò tutti i santi cominciarono à viaggiare verso la Perfettione
con

con discipline, Diggiuni, &c. Dunque se i Contemplativi hanno per fine anco la perfettione, ben li convengono le Penitenze, perche più spedito si renda alla Contemplatione, chi più tiene domate le alterationi del senso. E se Dio promette nelle Scritture pardonar al Peccatore piante, che faranno dà lui le colpe, mà in nessun luogo del vecchio, ò nuovo Testamento, per essersi posto nella Contemplatione. Dunque meglio si comincia la conversione dalla vita purgativa, e dalle Penitenze, che dalla contemplatione.

VI. La vera Contemplatione deve fermarsi nella pura Essenza d'Iddio, spogliata delle Persone, e degli Attributi, e l'Atto di Fede di Dio così concepito, è più perfetto, e meritorio di quello, che riguarda Dio con le Persone, & Attributi.

R. Le Persone Divine, e gli adorabili Attributi di Dio hanno la ragione formale d'esser Oggetti di Fede, e d'Amore nel racoglimento delle nostre potenze, e nella rassegnatione dello Spirito, perche sono verità rivelate, e come Predicati Divini suoni buoni in se stessi, & alle Creature. Donde può darsene vera contemplatione. Che poi l'atto di Fede di Dio senza le Persone, & Attributi concepito sia più perfetto, e meritorio di quello, che riguarda Dio con le Persone, & attributi è falsità. Perche se già il credere che Dio sia Trino, e sia giusto è atto di fede perfetto, e meritorio, e credere Dio vero nell'Essenza anco è atto meritorio e perfetto, farà l'atto con cui si crede Dio vero erino, e giusto, più perfetto, e meritorio d'un altro atto, con cui solamente si crede uno nell'Essenza, perche si merita più per due atti dell'istessa virtù, che per un solo di questi. (Havendoci Dio communicate le virtù supranaturali non per far un atto solo virtuoso, mà per avanzarsi col' esercizio

citio di tali doni) Un' atto di fede, che equivale à due è più meritorio, e perfetto di un solo atto delli due: onde ben si conclude contra la prima propositione di questo 6. Cap. che la vera, e perfetta contemplatione per essere migliore deve fermarsi nella pura Essenza di Dio, mà questa nella Persone, e negli Attributi.

VII. Nella Contemplatione s'unisce l'Anima immediatamente con Dio, onde non vi si richiede Fantasmì, ò Imagini, ò specie di sorte alcuna.

R. Nella Contemplatione ancorche in un certo modo s'unisca l'Anima immediatamente con Dio, ciò è effettive, perche vi concorre l'intelletto a mirar Dio semplicemente, però si richiede qualche specie per sollicitare l'intellettuale habilità naturale à portarsi nella consideratione di Dio, servendo la specie per oggetto mottivo all' Intelletto.

VIII. Tutti i Contemplativi nell' atto della Contemplatione patiscono pene, & angoscie sì gravi, che pareggiano, anzi superano, li tormenti dell' istessi Martiri.

R. Se (come dicono i Quietisti nel primo capo) la Contemplatione consiste nel farsi presente à Dio con un atto di Fede amorosa, e poi starsene in otio, non è formalmente essere tormentato, e patire pene più delli Martiri. E quantunque ad alcuno spesso succeda nella Contemplatione angoscie, e dolori, ciò proviene da' altra causa ò dal Demonio, permettendolo Dio, ò da' fiachezza di natura, che consuma il Corpo, ò da' motivi di Malenconia, ò da' soverchio sangue, che sormontato alla testa caggiona dolore. Mà moltissimi altri si sono visti nell' atto della Contemplatione, circondati di luce con fronte serena, e bocca ridente, come Francesco di Paola fù osservato da Luiggi XI. Ré di Francia, e finita la Contemplatione

tione restar tutti inondati di allegrezza, perche in quella vennero à vista (semplicemente ben si) li sposi, per restar concertato il Matrimonio frà Dio e l'Anima.

IX. Nel Sacrificio della Messa, e nelle Feste de' Santi, è meglio applicarsi all'atto di pura fede, e Contemplatione, che alli Misteri di esso Sacrificio, ò à considerarle le attioni, e le cose appartenenti alli medesimi Santi.

R. Vive ingannato chi giudica entrare nella Contemplatione senza buona dispositione dell' Anima; e perche la consideratione delli Misteri della Messa, e dell'esempio de' Santi è preparamento spirituale, ancorche remoto, perciò stimarsi devè meglio, prima applicarsi il Christiano alla consideratione de i Misteri della Messa, e delle attioni de' Santi, e poicia darli alla Contemplatione con più Adobbo nell' Anima.

X. La Lettione spirituale de' libri, le Prediche, l'Orationi vocali, l'Invocationi de' Santi, e cose simili, sono d'impedimento alla Contemplatione, ovvero Oratione di Quietè, alla quale non si deve premettere preparatione alcuna.

R. Se in ogni professione, e' maggiormente in quella della vera, e non fintionata spiritualità: *Nemo repente fit summus*, come l'esperienza dimostra, perche è ordine della nostra fiacca natura, co' cui si v'accommodando la gratia per il nostro cammino all'ultimo termine dell' Eternità, che à *facilioribus fit incipiendum*; che perciò è grand' ignoranza, e presontione entrare nell' Oratione di Quietè, prima d'altri esercitii, e senza preparatione. Chi così entra, uscirà ancora senz' alcun profitto.

XI. Il Sacramento della Penitenza, avanti la Comunione non è per l'Anime interiori, e contemplative, mà per l'esteriori, e meditative.

R. I contemplativi hanno solamente un' Anima che è può meditare, e può contemplare, & anco può star in peccato. Dunque il Sacramento della Penitenza prima della S. Comunione, è necessario all' Anime contemplative.

XII. La Meditatione non riguarda Dio col lume della Fede, mà con il lume naturale in Spirito e verità, e però non hà merito appresso Dio.

R. Se la meditatione non fosse meritoria appresso Dio, (*saltem aliquantulum de congruo*) no' sarebbe così familiare alle Religioni, dove furono, e sono grand' Huomini fanali della S. C. R. ne farebbe incaricata da' SS. Patriarchi, e da' Sommi Pontefici rimunerata con Indulgenze plenarie, come esercizio spirituale, proportionato alli Amici di Dio, & à quelli, che abbandonano le fallacie del mondo. Di Dio, come si può conoscere l'esistenza col lume naturale, e con la fede sopranaturale, così può darfi Meditatione che lo riguardi naturalmente, e Meditatione che lo riguardi con fede pura, e sopranaturale.

XIII. L'Imagini non solo interne, e mentali, mà anco l'esterne solite venerarsi da' fedeli, come sono quelle di Christo, e de' suoi Santi, sono dannose a' Contemplativi, onde devono fuggirsi, e toglier via, acciò non impediscano la Contemplatione.

R. Quanto decretò, e decreterà la S. Madre Chiesa, à cui presiede Direttore lo Spirito Santo tutto giovevole all' Vassallaggio di Christo; però se a' Fedeli la Chiesa ordina l'adorationi delle SS. Immagini, non devono queste sfuggirsi, ò toglier via, come nocive alla Contemplatione: nulladimeno alcuni sguardi alla sfuggita verso dette Immagini non sono vevoli à far perdere la Contemplatione, ovvero Oratione di Quietè al Contemplativo,

plativo, quale se in ogni caso la perde, proviene dalla sua troppa imbecillità, e per altro poi e più ampia l'Anima raggionevole; e maggine la gratia, che l'assiste di quello che suppone queste
 13. Cap. Anzi la moderata consideratione di dette Imagini serve à formar nell' Anima l'interno raccoglimento, perche il contemplativo si faccia regolare dalla Gratia.

XIV. Chi una volta si è applicato alla Contemplatione non deve piu ritornare alla Meditatione, perche farebbe unpassare dal meglio al peggio.

R. E vero che è cosa mala passare dal meglio al peggio, mà spesso conviene non possedendo attualmente il meglio incaminarsi à posseder il buono. E vero ancora, che essendo pontualmente nella Contemplatione, non si deve lacciar questa à fine di mettersi nella Meditatione. Ancorche la Contemplatione sia migliore, non ritrovandosi il Christiano attualmente nella Contemplatione, non opera inconvenientemente applicandosi à meditare, perche conviene, che per ogni via, che Dio si può mirare dall' Anima, sia da questa riverentemente effequiata.

XV. Se nel tempo della Contemplatione vengon pensieri brutti, & osceni, non si deve usar diligenza alcuna in scacciarli, no' ricorrer ad alcu uno buon pensiero, mà compiacersi di essere da' quelli molestato.

R. Per non perdersi l'unione effettiva con Dio, che nella formale contemplatione si trova, è atto di prudenza toglier via l'occasione, come è atto di scioperaggine il trattenerli con compiacenza, perche come dice S. Tomaso d'Aquino, *qui vult causam, ex qua necessariò, vel regulariter sequitur affectus, vult virtualiter effectum*, E lo Spirito Santo. *Qui amat periculum*

culum peribit in illo. Dunque sentendo in noi la rebellione del senso nella Contemplatione, ancorche fidati in noi stessi, dobbiamo usar ogni diligenza per superarla. Dovemo però raccomandarci alla Divinità, e chieder la sua gratia, per tranquillare i mali pensieri, diffondere le sue gioie nell' Anima, incalmare i sensi alterati, & *ut sint aspera in vias planas.*

XVI. Niun' atto ò affetto nostro interio, benchè formato per mezzo della fede, e puro, ne piace a Dio, perchè nasce dall' Amor proprio, mentre non vi sia infuso dallo Spirito Santo, senza nostra industria, e diligenza alcuna, onde quelli, che stanno nella Contemplatione ò in Oratione d'affetti, devono stare otiosi, ò aspettando l'influsso dello Spirito Santo.

R. A Dio solamente piacciono i' suoi Doni, mà tutte quelle nostre Operationi, che da' Noi si fanno con la sua Santa Gratia. Quindi tanto pier, profetta sarà' la Contemplatione, quanto meno sarà otiosa, purchè il Contemplatore non si lasci da' qualche sensibile trasportare, prechè perdereia la Contemplatione, e gli succederabbe come alla Moglie di Loth, che per mirar indietro perse il Camino. E poi temerità aspettare in otiosità l'influsso miracosa' dallo Spirito Santo, perchè a' quei, che sono nell' Oratione di Quietè non si deve il camino passivo, mentre non hanno condegnità sopra i doni della Spirito Santo. Bensì succede alle volte che lo Spirito penetri l'Anima di chi stà nell' Oratione d'affetti, mà per gratia particolare. Aggiungo contro la prima propositione di questo 16. capo. Li Quietisti dicono nel 12. capo che la Meditatione non hà merito appresso Dio, perchè non lo riguarda col lume della fede, dunque l'atto formato per mezzo della fede hà merito appresso Dio, dunque è puro, e gli piace.

XVII. Quelli che stanno nell'atto della Contemplatione, o dell'Oratione di Quietè, o siano Persone Religiose, o figli di famiglia, o altri, che vivono sotto l'altrui comando, non devono in quel tempo obedire & eseguire gli ordini della Regola, o de' superiori, per non interrompere la Contemplatione.

R. La contemplatione ancorche sia in noi di gran perfettione, perche non ci viene comandata da' Dio, interrompendosi non si pecca, mà essendoci comandata da' Dio l'Obedienza a' Genitori, & a' superiori, si deve obedire a' questi, anco con lasciare l'attual Contemplatione, perche in riguardo dell'ordine divino l'obedienza è preferibile nella pratica, ancorche la Contemplatione sia molto più considerabile nella sua perfettione oggettiva.

XVIII. Devono i Contemplativi esser totalmente spogliati dell'affetto di tutte le Cose, che rigettino a' se, e dispreggino li Doni, e favori di Dio, e si disaffettionino dell'istessa virtù, o per maggiormente spogliarsi d'ogni cosa, e viver meglio a' se medesimi, fare ancora quello, che ripugna alla modestia, & all'Honestà, purchè non sia espressamente contro li precetti del Decalogo.

R. Iddio favorisce i Contemplativi con la Communicatione de' suoi boni, non per essere questi disprezzati, mà per abbellirgli l'Anima, e fortificarli l'habilità naturale all'esercitio della virtù. Dunque ancorche i Contemplativi non se ne debbano insuperbire, devono sopra modo stimarli, o servirsene con humiltà di spirito: E se Dio vuole l'honestà come buona, sono in obbligo anche i Contemplativi esser honesti, perche Iddio non hà fatto decreto, che privilegiasse i Contemplativi a non esser soggetti alla ragione, su là quale si fonde la Modestia, e l'honestà della Vita.

XIX. Li Contemplativi sono soggetti alle Violenze, per le quali restano privi dell' uso del libero arbitrio, sì che se anco bene gravissimamente peccano esteriormente, nondimeno interiormente non fanno peccato alcuno; onde ne anco devono Confessarsi di ciò, che hanno fatto. Ciò si prova con l'esempio di Giob, il quale con tutto che non solo ingiuriasse il Prossimo, mà anco bestemmiasse empivamente Dio, in ogni modo non peccava, perche tutto questo faceva per violenza del Demonio. E per dar giuditio di queste violenze, non serve la Teologia Scolastica, e morale, mà è necessario Spirito sopranaturale, il quale in pocchissimi si trova, & in questi s'hà dà giudicare non l'interno dall' esterno, mà l'esterno dall' interno.

R. Che in questo Cap. 19. non solamente *latet Anguis sub herba*, mà apertamente si vede, che sotto nome di Contemplativi spirituali, vogliono i Quietisti essere debacanti sensuali. L'esempio, che adducono di Giob ben dimostra che no' hanno intelligenza della Scrittura. Mai Giob peccò esteriormente nè contro il Prossimo, nè contro Dio, quando parlò nel cap. 19. nel 6. verso, come ben dimostra, anco per mezzo del senso litterale Pineda tom. 11. sopra Giob c. 35. nè peccò contro il Prossimo, come nell' istesso può vederfi, sempre fondata fù la Dottrina de' SS. Padri; che delle Scritture, e insegnano il vero senso. E per dirla in poche parole con altre ragioni, la gratia con la quale Iddio sempre ci assiste, unita con la nostra cooperatione può superare ogni assalto nemico. E Christo lo disse à tutti in persona di S. Paolo: *Sufficit tibi gratia mea*. Dunque il Contemplativo non è violentabile de' venghi necessitato al peccato esteriori, &c.

THE PRINCIPAL ERRORS.

Of those who Practise,

The Prayer of Quietness,

Censured and Refuted.

I. ERROR.

Contemplation, or the prayer of Inward quietness, consists in this, that a man puts himself in the presence of God, by forming an obscure Act of Faith, full of Love, tho simple, and stops there, without going further: and without suffering any Reasoning, the Images of any things, or any Object whatsoever to enter into his mind: and so remains fixed and unmoveable, in his Act of Faith: it being a want in that Reverence that is due to God, to redouble this simple act of his: which is a thing of so much Merit, and of so great force, that it comprehends within it self, and far exceeds the merit of all other vertues joyned together: and it lasts the whole course of a mans

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life,

life, if it is not discontinued by some other Act, that is contrary to it; therefore it is not necessary to repeat or redouble it.

The CENSURE and REFUTATION.

It is not an Act of Faith that puts us in the Presence of God: for he is within us by a necessary effect of the Immensity of his nature: therefore *Elias, Micaiah*, and the other Prophets said, *Vivit Deus in cujus conspecto sto.* The Lord lives in whose presence I stand: and it is upon the same reason that the Divines have said after S. Austin, *In Deo vivimus movemur & sumus; In*

Another would have thought that S. Paul should have been cited for this, rather than S. Aust., since he had said this first, Acts. 17. v. 28. but Rome is not the place of the World where the N. Testament is most read; and this putting of ones self in the presence of God, can only mean the considering ones self as before him.

God we live, we move, and have our being: so that an Act of Faith, that presupposes that the Agent is in being, supposes likewise that it is in the presence of God; & is indeed nothing else but a Resignation that the Creature makes of it self to God. Therefore Contemplation, even during that first obscure Act of Faith, that is simple and full of love, is carried on by the Soul while she looks at God, and not at all while she continues

in an unmoveable state. It is then an Evident Falseness to say, that other good actions are not

not at all necessary: any good act being of its nature finite, may become alwayes better, by being often reiterated, and the multiplying the Acts of vertue cannot be contrary to the Reverence that is due to God, who being exempt from all passion, can never be troubled or wearied with Importunities, as great men are apt to be, who as Experience teaches, are often changed, disturbed, and become uneasy, when the same things are too often repeated to them. But with relation to God, when an act is in it self good, the repeating it is a progress in good; which is approved of God, and becomes more meritorious in his sight. Therefore the Soulin Contemplating, continues her Acts, and does not stick obstinately to one single Act, *Contemplation* being still an Operation of the Mind, tho other things are likewise necessary.

II. E R R O R.

One cannot make one step towards Perfection by meditation, that being to be obtained entirely by Contemplation.

R E F U T A T I O N.

A Christian by meditating seriously on the Passion of Christ, and reflecting on that Love that made a God suffer so much for Mankind, may upon that resolve to love him again, and to obey all his Commands: and he may by the grace of God which is ever present to us, put

those good purposes in Execution : so that the Soul may well advance towards Perfection by Meditation : It may be also done without Meditation : for every one that lives according to the Laws of God , may work out his own Salvation by the help of God. Now since no man can be saved but he that is Perfect, and a Friend of God's, then this *Article* is most certainly false.

III. ERROR.

All Study and Learning, even in sacred Matters and in Divinity, is a Hindrance to Contemplation : of which learned men are not able to make a true judgment, that being only to be expected from those that are given to Meditation and Contemplation.

REFUTATION.

The Study of *Divinity* makes known to us

This Article is falsely represented : for the Quietists, as all other Mysticks, only except to that dry learning which is not accompanied with an inward sense of Divine matters.

the Object of *Contemplation* : which as the *Quietists* say , is the *Divine Essence* : therefore it consists well with *Contemplation* : and if the Study of *Divinity* were opposit to this, then the ignorance of it is necessary to make a man *Contemplative* : and thus since *S. Austin* and all the other holy Doctors and Lights of the Church , were men Learned in this study, they must be looked on as men that were Incapable of rising up to
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Contemplation: which is false: because God, who has appointed the Priesthood as the highest degree of service done him, cannot be supposed to have Intended that the Priests should not be Contemplative persons; and it is plain, that God will have his Priests to be knowing: since in the Scriptures he threatens by *Hosea* the Prophet such as despised knowledge, and yet were in the Priesthood. *Tu repulisti scientiam & ego repellam te ne sacerdotio fungaris. Thou hast rejected knowledge, and therefore I have rejected thee from the Priesthood.* I pass over other Arguments from scripture and reason, because I am ordered to be short: and as for what is said in this *Article*, that the *Learned* cannot Judge of Contemplation, it shewes plainly, that the Ignorance of those spiritualists carries them to this boldness, of not being willing to submit to that Correction, which they might expect from that Infalible mean of the Judgment of the Learned.

Here is a new tribunal of Infallibility.

IV. ERROR.

There is no Contemplation that is perfect, but that which regards God himself; the Mysteries of the Incarnation, and of the Life and Passion of our Saviour, are not the Objects of Contemplation: on the contrary, they hinder it: so that Contemplative persons must avoid them.

them at a great distance, and think of them only with Contempt.

REFUTATION.

If Contemplation is an affection that is raised in the understanding or the Will by its proper object by the help of the Grace of God, and that consists in an Inward Recollection of the mind, then the Life of Christ is a proper Object for it, since a Christian can present this to his thoughts, and raise upon it an Act of Faith and love. Besides,

If we judge of this new Infallibility by this way of proving that Jesus Christ is the proper Object of Contemplation, we will not much admire it; but if this Article is true, it looks liker Deism.

Christ came by a Commission from his Eternal Father to plant Paradise here on earth, according to that of the Prophet Isaias, *Posui verbum meum in ore tuo ut plantes Cœlos & fundes terram; I have put my word in thy mouth that thou may plant the Heavens and establish the earth; or as the Chaldee Paraphrase hath it, ut plantes Cœlos in terra, that thou may plant the Heavens in the Earth; as if he had said (as S. Jerome understood the words) that thou may plant true joy in those minds, that were debased by Original sin; and how can it be imagined, that Contemplative persons can rise above themselves in their Contemplations to taste of Divine Joy's, if they must keep at such a distance*

stance from Jesus Christ, who is the Immediate giver of them; and despise him? Christ is so far from hindring of Contemplation, that he came into the world to distribute all those Perfections and spiritual Joys to which the Contemplative aspire.

V. E R R O R.

Corporal Penitences and Austerities do not belong to Contemplative Persons: on the Contrary, it is better to begin ones Conversion by a State of Contemplation, than by a State of Purgation or of Pennance; and Contemplative Persons ought to avoid and despise all the effects of sensible Devotion, such as Tenderness of Heart, Tears, and Spiritual Consolations, all which are contrary to Contemplation.

R E F U T A T I O N.

Mortifications dispose the Spirit to rise above the motions of sense; and therefore it is that all the Saints have begun their course towards Perfection with Fasting and Discipline. And therefore if these Contemplatives design Perfection, they must practice Pennance: since nothing renders a man so fit for Contemplation, as to rise above all the Disorders of Sense. God in the Scriptures promises to forgive the mourning Sinner; but this is not promised to the Contemplative in any place either of the Old or New Testament. Therefore it is better to begin ones

Conversion with purgative Exercises and Pennances, than with Contemplation.

VI. ERROR.

True Contemplation must keep it self fixed only to the essence of God, without re-

If this Article is true, it confirms the suspicion of Deism.

flecting either on his Persons or his Attributes. And an Act of Faith thus conceived, is more perfect and meritorious than

that which considers God with the Divine Attributes, or with the Persons of the Trinity in it.

REFUTATION.

The Persons of the Trinity, and the Attributes of God, are the proper Objects of Faith and love, while we recollect all the Powers of our Souls, and resign our selves to God: for as these are divine Truths, that are revealed to us, so the Attributes of God are both good in themselves, and good to us, so that they are proper to raise in us a true Contemplation. It is also false, that an Act of Faith, that has God for its Object, without considering his Attributes, or the Persons of the Trinity, is more perfect than that which regards God in conjunction with them. For it to believe that God is one, and that he is Just, is a perfect and a meritorious Act of Faith, Here one sees what a thing school Divinity is, by this way of reckoning: but the value of acts rises from the Intention of the mind, and not from the Extension of the object.

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Nature is also a perfect and meritorious Act; then the Act by which God is believed to be true, just and Three in One, is a more perfect and a more meritorious Act, than that in which he was considered only as one in Essence. Because a man merits more by two Acts of the same vertue than by a single one only: for God has communicated supernatural helps to us, not only for doing one Act of vertue, but that we may make an advance in such Acts. Therefore one Act of Faith, that is equivalent to two others, is more meritorious and perfect than any one of these two. Therefore we may justly conclude against the first branch of this *Article*, that true and perfect Contemplation raised to its highest pitch, must not only regard God in his Essence, but likewise in his Persons and Attributes.

VII. ERROR.

The Soul becomes immediatly united to God in Contemplation; so that there is no need of Phantasms, Images, or any sort of Representation.

REFUTATION.

Tho it is true, that the Soul in some sort unites her self immediately to God in Contemplation, that is, by a Union of Affections; for the Understanding beholds God simply, yet some Ideas are

This is not meant of pure Ideas, but of gross Phantasms.

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necessary for exciting the natural force of the Understanding, and to carry it to look at God: which Idea is a sort of Object that moves the Understanding.

VIII. ERROR.

All contemplative persons suffer in the Act of Contemplation such grievous Torments, they seem to surpass even the sufferings of the Martyrs themselves.

REFUTATION.

If Contemplation consists (as the *Quietists*

This Article is also falsely represented; for the Quietists only mean, that Souls suffer many inward Agonies in a contemplative state, of which all the Books of the Mysticks are full, and which they call the great Desolation.

pretend it does) in this, that the Soul puts her self in the presence of God, by an act of Faith, full of Love, and after that continues idle: this is not the being formally tormented, or the enduring more than the Martyrs suffered: and tho it is true in some sort, that Pains and Miseries come after Contemplation, this flows either

from the Devil, to whom upon that occasion God gives leave to try those persons, or from some weakness in Nature, that oppresses the Body, from Melancholy, or an abundance of Blood, that raises Headaches, or from some other unknown Cause. But many others have appeared to be in the very Act of Contemplation, as it were environed with Light,
and

and have looked with a serene, and sometimes with a smiling countenance; which *Lewis* the XI. of *France* observed in *Francis a Paula*; and they have been as it were overflowed with Joy, when the Contemplation was over; having been admitted in it, to see their Bridegroom in that simple Act, in which there passes as it were a Marriage between God and the Soul.

IX. ERROR.

During the Sacrifice of the Mass, and on the Festivals of the Saints, it is better to apply ones self to an Act of pure Faith, and to Contemplation, than to the Mysteries of that Sacrifice, or to consider the Lives of those Saints.

REFUTATION.

He is much deceived, who thinks to arrive at Contemplation without a due disposition of Soul for it: and therefore the consideration of the Mysteries of the Mass, and of the Examples that the Saints have set us, is a spiritual preparation for it, tho it may be only a remote one: therefore a Christian ought to set himself first to consider the Mysteries of the Mass, and the Lives of the Saints, and then apply himself to Contemplation, having prepared his Soul duly for it.

The Quietists only mean by this, that if a man in an act of outward devotion is carried to Contemplate, he is not to hold his mind to the outward devotion.

X. ERROR.

X. ERROR.

The reading of Spiritual Books, Sermons, Vocal Prayer, the Invocation of Saints, and all such things, are hindrances to Contemplation, which is only attained by the Prayer of Quietness, to which it is not necessary to premise any preparation whatsoever.

REFUTATION.

If in every profession, but chiefly in a true and unfainedly spiritual Temper, that Maxim holds good,

The Quietists only mean, that no general Methods carry men to Contemplation, and that it is the effect of a special Grace.

Nemo repente fit summus, No man attains to the height all of the sudden, which daily experience demonstrates, then it is but futeable to the feebleness of our Nature, to

which the Divine Grace accommodates it self, that in our Journey towards that heighth of Eternity, *a facilioribus sit incipiendum*, we must begin with those things that are easier; therefore it is great Ignorance or presumption to enter into the Prayer of Quietness before other exercises, and without due preparation. And he who begins his course thus, will end it without any fruit.

XI. ERROR.

The Sacrament of Penance before Communion, is not for contemplative Souls, that live in this inward state; but only for those that are in the Exterior and Meditative state.

REFUTATION.

These Contemplative persons have but one Soul, which at some times meditates, and at other times contemplates: and that may come to be in a state of sin. Therefore the Sacrament of Penance is necessary even for those Contemplative Souls, before they go to Communion.

This of one Soul is ridiculous.

XII. ERROR.

Meditation does not look at God with the Light of Faith, but only in a natural Light, in Spirit and in Truth: and therefore it is not meritorious before God.

REFUTATION.

If Meditation were not in some sort at least in the way of Congruity, meritorious before God; it could not be so much practised in all Religious Orders, from whence there have come, and daily there does come, so many of the shining-lights of the Holy Roman Church: nor would it have been set on so much by their Holy Patriarchs, nor rewarded by the Popes with Plenary Indulgences, as a spiritual Exercise futeable to the Friends of God; and to those who had abandoned the Snares of this present World. But as one may know the Existence of God by the Light of Nature, as well as by a supernatural Faith, so likewise some

The Quietists only condemn a dry and Mechanical Meditation.

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Meditations look at God, only with the Light of Nature ; and others are Acts of a Supernatural Faith.

XIII. E R R O R.

Not only inward and mental Images , but those outward ones which are worshipped by the Faithful, such as the Images of Christ and of his Saints , are hurtfull to contemplative Persons, and they ought to be avoided and removed , that so they may not hinder Contemplation.

R E F U T A T I O N.

All things are useful to the Service of

Here, notwithstanding all our Representatives in England, you see the Adoration of Images is so received at Rome, that it is a Crime to think that the most perfect may be above it.

Christ, that either is decreed, or that may be decreed by the Holy Mother Church: in all whose Consultations the Holy Ghost presides and directs them.

Therefore if the Church appoints the *Adoration of Images*, none of the Faithful ought to avoid them, or remove them as hurtful to Contemplation, and some secret looks towards these Images, is no way likely to make a man fall from the height of Contemplation; or the *Prayer of Quietness*; from which if he falls at any time, it flows from his own great Instability, since the reasonable Soul is a Nobler being, and the Grace that it receives, is of a higher nature,

ture, than is supposed in this Article. Therefore a moderate regard to *Images* will serve to confirm the Soul in her inward Recollection, if a Contemplative man regulates this by the help of the Grace of God.

XIV. E R R O R.

He that has once applied himself to Contemplation, must never return to Meditation; for this were to fall from a better State to a worse.

REFUTATION.

It is true, that it is an ill thing to go from better to worse; but it is oft times good for a man, that cannot attain to that which is *better*, to content himself with that which is *good*. It is also true, that while a man

This is only meant by the Quietists, of returning to a Mechanical way of Meditation.

is in Contemplation, he ought not to let that go that he may turn himself to Meditation. Yet tho Contemplation is still the better State, when a Christian is not actually in Contemplation, it is not Inconvenient for him to apply himself to Meditation: because the Soul ought to follow God with all due Reverence, in all those ways in which he may lead her.

XV. E R R O R.

If foul and impure Thoughts come into the mind while one is in Contemplation, he ought to take no care to drive them away: nor to turn

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himself

himself to any good thoughts, but to have a complacency in the trouble that he suffers from them.

REFUTATION.

It is a piece of prudence in a man who being in Contemplation,

This is only so to be understood, that according to the rules given by all the Mysticks, when ill thoughts come into a mans mind, the best way to overcome them, is rather to neglect them, than to struggle much against them.

would not lose that union by which he is united to God, to avoid every thing that may occasion it; as on the contrary, it is a strong piece of neglect to entertain that with complacency which must make one lose it, as St. Thomas of Aquina says, *He that loves the cause from which any effect fol-*

lows, either naturally, or at least commonly, does virtually love the effect it self: And the Holy Ghost says, He that loves danger, shall perish in it. Therefore a man who being in Contemplation, feels the Rebellion of the sensible part, he ought to use all diligence to overcome in whatsoever a state he may be in. He ought therefore to recommend it to God, and to implore his Grace to quiet all those evil thoughts: that so his joy being spread abroad in the Soul, all the disorderly motions of sense may be calmed, *Et sint aspera in vias planas*, That what is rough may be made smooth.

XVI. ERROR.

No inward Action or Affection, tho formed by the vertue of Faith, is pure or pleasing to God: because it rises out of self-love, unless it is infused in us by the Holy Ghost, without any Industry or Diligence used by us: therefore they that are in the state of Contemplation or of Prayer, or inward Affections, ought to continue in a state of suspense, waiting for the miraculous Influence of the H. Ghost.

REFUTATION.

God is not only pleased with all his own Gifts, that are in us, but with every thing that is done by us, with the help of his Grace: therefore our Contemplation will be so much the more perfect, the less inactive we our selves are: provided that the Contemplative person does not suffer himself to be carried away by any sensible Object; for by that he would fall from that State, and become as *Lot's Wife*, who was stopt short, because she looked behind her. It is then a rashness to keep our selves in an unactive state, and in it to look for the miraculous Influence of the H. Ghost. For all that are in the *Prayer of Quietness*, must not expect to be led into this Passive State, since they have not a Condignity sute-

This is indeed down-right Enthusiasm, yet much of this strain will be found in all the Writings of the Mysticks.

able to those Gifts. Tho sometimes the H. Ghost does penetrate the Souls of those who are in this prayer of inward affection, but this is the effect of a particular Grace: I add against the first branch of this *Article* that the *Quietists* say in the 12th *Article*, that Meditation is of no merit in the sight of God, because it does not look at him with the Light of Faith; from which I infer, that an Act formed by the Power of Faith, is meritorious before God, and by consequence, it is pure and acceptable to him.

XVII. ERROR.

Those who have arrived at the State of Contemplation, and the Prayer of inward Quietness, being Religious Persons, or being under the Authority of Parents, or any other superiours, are not bound to observe their Rules, or to obey their Superiours, while they are in Contemplation, lest that Interrupt it.

REFUTATION.

Altho Contemplation is an Act of high Perfection, yet since it is not

This the Quietists deny, as an Imputation cast upon them. commanded by God, it may be interrupted without sin:

and since Obedience to Parents and superiours, is commanded by God, that ought to take place, and even Contemplation ought to be discontinued in order to it. And therefore considering the Order that God has settled, that Obedience ought to be

preferred to Contemplation, tho the latter is
s to its objective Perfection much more va-
uable than the former.

XVIII. E R R O R.

*Contemplative persons ought to divest them-
selves of all affections to all
things: they ought to reject
and despise all Gods gifts
and favours, and to strip
hemselves of all Inclinations
even for vertue itself; and in
order to this totall abnega-
tion of all things, and that
they may live better within
hemselves, they ought even
to do that which is contrary to Modesty and de-
cency; provided that it be not expresly contrary
to some of the ten Commandments.*

All the Mysticks,
and in particular
Sr. Philip Neri-
us, have often done
things that seem-
ed ridiculous &
absurd, as the
highest excercises
of Mortification
and Humility.

R E F U T A T I O N.

When God favours Contemplative Persons
so far, as to communicate any of his bles-
sings to them, these things ought not to
be despised, but to be considered as Fa-
vours that tend both to beautify the Soul,
and to fortify her in the exercise of Ver-
tue: so that tho Contemplative Persons
ought not to be lifted up with them,
yet they ought to value them highly, and
to make use of them with all Humility of
Spirit: and since God considers *Decency* as a
sort of Goodness, Contemplative persons

ought to be *decent* in all things: for God has not by any special Decree exempted them from the Rules of Reason, upon which all the *Modesty* and *decency* of Life is founded.

XIX. E R R O R.

Contemplative Persons are subject to violent

Commutations, by which they lose

This the Quietists reject as a *Calumny*, to render them justly odious to all the world

the exercise of the Freedom of their Will. So that tho they may fall into most grievous Sins, as to the exterior Act, yet they do not at all sin inwardly: And so they are not bound to confess

that which they have done. All this is proved by the example of Job, who tho he not only said things that were very Injurious to his Neighbour, but had blasphemed God most Impiously yet he did not sin in all this: because all was done by the Violence of the Devill. In order to the judging of these Violences, neither the Learning of the Schoolmen or of the Casuists, is of any use but a supernatural Spirit is necessary, which is to be found in very few persons: now these are the only Competent Judges, who must not judge of the Internal by the External; but on the contrary, of the External by the Internal.

R E F U T A T I O N.

In this Article the Snake does not hide himself in the Grass, but shews himself very visibly : since by this it is plain, that the *Quietists* will be sensual *Libertines* under the name of Spiritual and Contemplative Persons. The Example that they bring of *Job* shews clearly how little they understand the Scripture. *Job* did not sin outwardly, neither against his Neighbour nor against God in what he said, cap. 19. ver. 6. as *Pineda* (tom. 2. in *Job* 235) has evidently proved from the literal sense of the words: he did not sin against his Neighbour, as appears by the Expositions of the *Holy Fathers*, from whom we are to learn the true sense of the Scriptures. And to end this matter in a few words, that Grace with which God assists us at all times, is such, that we co-operating with it, may overcome all the Temptations of our Enemies. And Christ has said to all in the person of *S. Paul*, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*: therefore a Contemplative Person cannot be pushed on by any violence or necessity whatsoever, to any External Act of Sin.

But it is very poorly refuted, certainly Job said many very hard things, which God who knew the sincerity of his heart, and the strength of his temptations, did not lay to his charge.

It is not easie to judge whether these *Articles* are faithfully drawn out, or truly represented: for it is probable, that *Malice* has a large share in some of them, chiefly in this last, which leads to down-right *Libertinage*; tho others have rather suspected, that all tended to an Elevated *Deism*: yet it is certain, that if there is much *Poison* in these *Articles*, the Antidote of the *Censure* is so feeble, that it cannot have a strong Operation; and it shews how little the *Scripture* and true *Divinity* is understood at *Rome*.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN the former *Letter*, I told you all that I could learn of this matter, during my stay at *Rome*, but having left it in *July*, I prevailed with one to give me an account of the Conclusion of this Affair, of which I send you a Copy: for tho I know all the *Gazettes* of *Europe* will be full of the Decision and end that is believed to be put to the business of *Quietism*, yet you know too well, how little one ought to depend on such Relations: all the newes of this matter, will either be that which is writ by the direction of the *Inquisition*, or by the Strangers that are there, and pick up such things as they find among the *Romans*, who are ever true to the old

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Character that *Juvenal* gave of that City,
Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, & odit
Damnator.

Therefore I will give you an account of this business, on which you may depend, in the words of a Letter writ me from *Rome*.

Now this great Affair, upon which men have so long lookt with so much expectation, is at an end: and a party that was believed to be a Million strong, is now either quite extinguisht, or at least oppressed with a great deal of Infamy: and Mr. *Molinos*, who has lived above twenty years in this City, in the highest Reputation possible, is now as much hated as ever he was admired: he is not only considered as a Condemned, and an Abjured *Here-tick*, but he is said to have been convicted of much Hypocrisy, and of a very lewd course of life; which is so firmly believed by the *Romans*, that he was treated by them on the day of his Abjuration, with all possible Indignities; but the people as they shewed their affections to him, by their cries of *Fire, Fire*, so were ready to have sacrificed him to their rage, if he had not been well defended by the *Sbiri* and Guards that were about him. And it would be a crime enough at present, to recommend a man to the care of the *Inquisitors*, if he should seem to doubt either of his *Here-sy*, or of the Scandals of his life. All the party is extreamly sunk: Cardinal *Petrucchi*
 F 5 himself

himself lives in *Rome* as if he were in a desert; for no Body goes to visit him, and he stirs as little abroad: nor is it thought that he will escape: there are four sent by the *Inquisition* to his Diocese of *Jessi* to examin his behaviour there: there is also a discourse, that has lately appeared at *Rome*, that was secretly printed, of which he is suspected to be the Author, which is an *Apology for Quietism*, that gives great offence. It is said, that the *Inquisitors* had full proofs against *Molinos*, by fourteen Witnesses; of whom eight indeed came and offered their Depositions of their own accord, and the other six were forced to declare the truth, which raises the Credit of their Testimony: since his Abjuration, it is said that many of his Followers have abjured in private, and that besides the Prisoners that are in their hands, great numbers come in every day to accuse themselves, and to offer themselves to penance, these are all very gently dismissed by the *Inquisitors*, who are now as much censured by the *Romans* for their excessive mildness, as ever they have been blamed by others for their rigour: and those secret Abjurations are believed to be all the Severity that they will practise on this Occasion; for it is said that even *F. Appiani* the *Jesuite* will be abjured in secret; tho some say, he is madd, others that he is become deaf and dumb, and not a few believe that he is dead: so uncertain are all

Reports

Reports at present. In a word, the hatred of the present *Pontificate* appears very visibly upon this Occasion: the *People* affecting to shew a very extraordinary rage against a person, and a party, that has been so much favoured and supported by the *Pope*: so that this matter comes clearly home to him, and wounds his Reputation extreamly; all this raises the credit of the *Jesuites*, who value themselves upon the zeal and the conduct of their *Society* upon this Occasion. All the *Popes* Enemies, the *Jesuites*, the *French Party*, and the body of the *People*, that are Malecontented and weary of him, and his long and dull *Reign*, shew the Pleasure they have in aggravating this matter against him: they say, this is the first time that ever any *Heresy* made *Rome* its Seat, where it choosed to nestle it self; but it is yet more strange, that it should have continued there above twenty years, notwithstanding all that multitude of *Spyes* that the *Inquisition* has every where; that the *Pope* should have shut his Ears against all Complaints, so that this Doctrine had gained so great Authority, that those who attackt it, passed for *Hereticks*, or Calumniators at least, and that even after all the Discoveries that have been made, that the *Pope* was known to favour *Molinos* secretly, and was so hardly brought at last to consent to the Condemnation, in which it is said, that nothing prevailed on him till the

the *Cardinal's* informed him of the Scandals of *Molinos's* Life, that were proved: this was indeed a matter that could fall within the *Popes* understanding; for the points of Doctrine are believed to be above it. All these things concur to increase the Contempt under which the present *Pontificate* lies; yet as for those Scandals of *Molinos's* life, I do not know what to believe: many will not believe them, and think they are only Impostures given out to render him odious; for if they had been true, and well proved, it is said, that the *Censure* would have been severer; for a perpetual *Imprisonment*, and the saying his *Credo*, and the fourth part of the *Rosary* every day, are mild Punishments, if he is found to have been so flagitious a man, and so vile a Hypocrite, as is given out. His own Behaviour at the *Minerva* did not look, either like a Man, that was much confounded with the Discoveries that had been made, or that was very Penitent for them, or for his *Heresy*: so that the Mildness of the *Censure*, to a Man that shewed so little humility or repentance, seems to flow rather from the Defectiveness of the Proofs, than from the gentleness of the *Tribunal*. I confess, I was not a Witness to what passed in the *Minerva*; for as I would not venture in the Crowd, so both Money and Favour was necessary to accommodate a man well on that occasion, where not only

a general Curiosity brought a vast confluence of People together, to see the issue of a Business that has been so long in suspense, but a particular Devotion: for the *Pope* had granted a *General Indulgence* to all that should assist in that Solemnity: but I will give you the account as I had it from Eye-witnesses. *Molinos* was well dressed, new trimm'd, in his Priestly Habit, with a cheerful Countenance, that as was said by his Enemies, had all the Charms on it, that were necessary to recommend him to the fair Sex. He was brought from *Prison* in an open Coach, one *Dominican* being with him in it. He was at first placed for some time in one of the *Corridori* of the *Minerva*: he looked about him very freely, and returned all the Salutes that were made him: and all that he was heard say, was, *That they saw a man that was defamed, but that was Penitent* (*Infamato ma Pentito*.) After that he was carried to dinner, where he was well treated, that being to be his last good Dinner. After Dinner, he was brought into the *Church*, as in a Triumph, carried on the shoulders of the *Sbiri* in an open Chair: when he was brought to his place, as he made his Reverence very devoutly to the *Cardinals*, so there was no shew of Fear or of Shame, in his whole Deportment. He was chained, and a Wax Light was put in his hand, while two strong-lung'd *Fryers* read his *Process* aloud, and

and care had been taken to lay matters so, that as some of the *Articles* were read, all should cry *Fire, Fire*. When he came back to *Prison*, he entred into his little Cell, with great Tranquillity, calling it his *Cabinet*, and took leave of his *Priest* in these words, *Adieu Father, we shall meet again at the Day of Judgment, and then it will appear on which side the Truth is, whether on my side, or on yours*. So he was shut up for *Life*. Yet after all I find none of the wise men here think that the thing is at an end; but that the Fire which seems to be now extinguished, will break out with more violence; for one of his *Followers* had the boldness to tell the *Inquisitors* to their face, that they were a Company of Unjust, Cruel, and Heretical men; and compared their Treatment with that which Christ had met with, and yet even he has escaped upon an Abjuration, as is pretended. The Reasons that are given for this extraordinary Gentleness of the *Inquisitors*, who are seldom accused for erring on this side, are both the Numbers of the *Party*, who might be much irritated by publick Examples, and also the great Credit that their *Doctrine* has from the *Mystical Divinity*, that is authorised by so many *Canonisations*: for it is said, that from several parts the *Inquisitors* have brought together above twenty thousand of *Molino's Letters*: whose Correspondence

was

was so vast, that some give out, that the *Post* of the *Letters*, that were brought him the day in which he was seized on, rise to twenty Crowns. And I heard a *Divine* of *Rome* confess, that they have such *Authorities* for most of their *Tenets*, that they will never be beat out of them, by the force of their *School Divinity*, therefore he thought it was necessary to condemn them by a formal Sentence, in which the Authority of the Church was to be interposed. Most of the condemned *Articles* are nothing but an Invidious Aggravating of the Doctrine of *Predestination* and *Grace* Efficacious of it self, and of *Immediat Inspiration*: for all the hard Consequences that are pretended to be drawn, either from the one or the other of these Opinions, are all turned into so many *Articles*, and condemned as so many Impious Doctrines; but you will be better able to judge of this matter when you see all that the *Inquisitors* will think fit to print concerning it.

A SECOND
LETTER

Writ from

R O M E,

Containing some Particulars, relating
to the

INQUISITION.

S I R;

MY laſt to you, together with the *Advertiſement* which was ſent me from *Rome*, related wholly to the Affairs of the *Quietiſts*; but be-
cauſe I know your Curioſity will perhaps go further; and that you expect ſuch *Obſervations* from me, as you fancy me capable to make, in a *Countrey* where I have now made ſo long a ſtay, that it is my own fault, if I have not been able to ſee a little further than Common

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Travellers do; therefore I will try what I can say that may please you.

I am, as you know, no Searcher into *Manuscripts*, or the Curiosities of *Libraries*, nor can I bring my self to so dry a study as is that of *Medals*, or *Inscriptions*. I had rather be beholding to the Labours of others, for the Discoveries they have made in those matters, than wear out my Eyes and spend my Time in the reading and Deciphering those *Remains* of Antiquity. I love all that knowledg, which, with how much difficulty soever it may be acquired, feeds the mind with some useful Ideas: but as for that knowledg which carries one no further, then that such a *Word*, or such a *Hieroglyphick* signified such a thing, and that gives the mind no matter to work on, and raises no game at which it may fly, it has not charm enough to work on so long a man as I am. I confess, my studies, and my way of Life would have carried me more naturally into matters of *Religion*, or into the *Politicks*: but as to the former, *Italy* is not a Country, where a man either can or dare reason upon these Subjects: for their Ignorance is such, that no man can profit much by their conversation on those heads: besides that, it is not safe to do it. The *Italians* are too well bred, to attack a man on that Argument; and they know their own Ignorance so well, and have so high an Opi-

nion of the *Learning* of the *Hereticks*, that they are sure never to provoke any of them: and he were a very bold and Indiscreet man, that would begin the dispute with them: so after all, *Newes* and *Politicks* is all that Remains and you know I am idle enough both to think and to talk of these upon occasion: yet I must confess, that I find so many of my *Reflections* in *Dr. Burnets Letters*, that I have got sent me from *Leghorn*, that if I had not seen these, I had very likely writ you a great many of those that are already set out by him, with so much advantage, that I find the best part of all my *Observations* are already made by a better Pen: but I, who have as great an Aversion from copying, as he says he has, will avoid the saying any one thing that I find in his *Letters*: and will only speak of those Places that he did not see, or of those matters which he had not time enough to enquire after, or to observe; and since the former *Letter*, contained such a long and serious recital of a matter, that if it fixed your attention, you must have wearied it, I will now divert you a little, with some *Storys*, that will be more agreeable; and then I will return to more serious *Subjects*. I will begin with some relating to the *Inquisition*. I told you in my former *Letter*, of a great many *Prisoners* in the *Inquisition*, but among all the *Prisoners* that are there, none will surprise you so much as

when

when I tell you that there is a *Crucifix* kept there, which is called, *our Saviour in the Inquisition*: when this was first told me, I durst not speak out that which naturally occurred to my thoughts, which was, that our *Saviour* and the *Truth of his Gospel*, was indeed shut up with so much severity by the *Inquisitors*, that it was no wonder if he were reckoned among the *Prisoners* of that severe Court. But this story is less serious, and more Comical.

You know that in all the bigotted Towns, the people are sorted in several *Fraternities*, and every one of these, has their peculiar churches, *Altars*, *Images* and *Relicks*, to which they pay a more extraordinary devotion: so there was one in *Florence*, among whose favourite *Images* a *Crucifix* hapned to be one: a *Woman* (that had a fair *Daughter*) fell sick: and as she had payed many Devotions to that *Image*, so she came to fancy, that in her sickness she had the Returns of very extraordinary Favours from it. The truth of the matter was, that one who had a mind to have frequent access to her *Daughter*, made a shift to deceive the poor sick *Woman*: for he appeared in such a disguise to her, that she believed it was the *Image* that came to comfort her. And that which was the most acceptable part of the Imposture was, that the *Impostor* knew by her *Daughters* means, every thing that she wanted,

ted, and took care to provide it for her so that at every visit that he made her, he brought along with him, all the things that she needed: this was sensible; so the credulous *Woman* believed all this came from her beloved *Image*: and she was now as gratefull as she had been before devout: she told all that came to see her; how careful and bountifull that *Image* was to her: and shewed them how well she was supplied by it. In short this came to be generally believed: for when the least *story* of this kind gets vent, and well received by the *Priests*, the *People* run in so headlong to it, that it would pass for a Crime capable enough of ruining one in the Spirit of the *Inquisitors*, to seem to doubt of it; but much more if one studied to undeceive others: therefore things of this nature kindle the minds of a superstitious multitude so quick, that in a few days a whole *Town* will seem as it was out of its Wits: which appeared signally on this occasion at *Florence* for now the whole *Town* entred into this *Fraternity*. The *Great Duke* himself came in the number, and all were studying what new Honours should be done to an *Image* that had been so kind to one of its *Worshippers*. But some that were wiser than the rest, saw thro' the Cheat, and Informed *P. Innocent* the 10th. it, who was resolved to put a stop to the current of this *Superstition*: yet he saw it was no

cessary

cessary to do it with some address: It fell out to be the year of *Jubily* 1650. so the *Pope* writ to *Florence*, that he had heard of the *Miracles* of that *Image*, to which he desired earnestly to do his own *Devotions*, therefore he intreated them to bring it to *Rome*; that so the *Image* might have the addressees of all the *Pilgrims*, as well as his own made to it. Upon this the more bigotted of the *Fraternity*, would needs accompany the Charitable *Image*: so they carried it in *Procession* to *Rome*: and did not doubt but that the *Pope* and *Cardinalls* with the *Clergy* of *Rome* would have come out in *Procession* to meet them and their *Image*: The surprise was no doubt very great, when instead of all this, they found a Company of *Sbirri* staying for them at the *Porta dell Populo*; who took their *Image* from them, and carried it away to the *Inquisition*; and sent them away for a little mortified at the Disgrace, that had befallen their *Crucifix*, who has been ever since a *Prisoner* in the *Inquisition*.

I was told of another *Prisoner* there of a later date, but not much unlike this. You know the legend of the *Plague* that was in *Rome*, as I remember in *S. Gregory the great's* time, that was stopt by an *Angel*, that as was pretended came down, and stood over that *Castle*, which was formerly called *Moles Hadriani*, but has carried the name of *Castro S. Angelo* ever since. The *Fryers* of *Ara Cœli* had

got a *Stone*, upon which there was an Impression like the print of a *Foot*: so they have put this in some part of their *Church*, and gave it out that this print was made by the *Foot* of that *Angel*; tho one can hardly imagine how they fancied that an *Angel* treads so hard. This *Stone* had many *Devotions* payed it. The learned Sig^r. *Pietro Bellori*, who without dispute the best *Antiquary* in *Rome* being once in that *Chappel* at his *Devotions* observed a great many praying about the *Stone*, and kissing it with great *Respect* and *Affection*; so he came to look upon it, and having examined it carefully, he saw clearly it was a fragment of a *Statue* of the *Goddess Isis*; the *Greek* Characters were legible, and many things concurred to make a man of *Learning* and *Exactness* conclude, that the *Devotions* were mis-applied that were payed it; so he went to one of the *Fathers* of the *House*, and acquainted him with his *Observation*: and wished that they would remove that mistaken *Object* of *Worship*, lest for of the learned *Hereticks* that passed thro *Rome* might discover and reproach the *Church* with it. But the *Fathers* of the *House* found their account in this matter, so they were so from following his good *Advice*, that they aspersed him that had given it, so as to accuse him of *Impiety* for diverting the *Devotions* of the people: the *Imputation* was carried

far that he was brought before the *Inquisition* to clear himself, which he did so fully, that he not only got safe out of their hands, but which was more, he convinced them that he was in the right: so the *Stone* was removed, and keeps the *Crucifix* company in the *Inquisition*.

But by these two Storys, you will perhaps imagin that I design to beget in you a good Opinion of that *Court*; but I will now tell you another, that will soon bring you back to your old thoughts of that Tribunal. *Burrhi* is a man so famous in the World, that one that has looked into Natural *Philosophy* and *Chimistry*, could not be long in *Rome* without making an acquaintance with him: but to tell you truth, I neither found him to be so great a *Chimist* as he fancies himself to be, nor so great a *Heretick* as the *Inquisitors* have made him. I tell you this the more particularly, that you may upon it judge how far you are to believe the account that the *Inquisitors* may give of their proceedings against *Molinos*: since you may conclude from what was done to the *one*, what may be expected in all cases that are brought before them. *Burrhi's* Story is in short this; He is a Gentleman of the *Millanese*, who was born to an Estate of 8000. *Crowns* a year: In his youth he had travelled, and had got into his head the Notions of the *New Philosophy* and

of *Chimistry*: so at his return to *Milan*, he began to propogate the *new Philosophy*, and to form a Conference upon those matters: the *Priests* it seems suspected, that there might be somewhat under this, so he was put in the *Inquisition*, but nothing could be made out against him, he was let out: after that he went and staid for some years in *Germany* and *Holland*; and it is very probable that he might have expressed himself concerning the *Courts of Inquisition*, as a man that had no great opinion either of their Justice, or of their Mercy. And as he has gone into all the high pretensions of the *Chimists*, so it is probable enough that he has talked of matters of *Religion* in that Mysterious unintelligible *Jargon*, that is used almost by all the men that are of the highest Elevation of *Chimistry*, but chiefly by *Paracelsus* and *Van Helmont*. In short, some Accusations were given in to the *Inquisitors* against him, who complained of him to the *Emperour*, and had so much credit in his *Court* that he strained his power to the utmost, and seised on him, and sent him to *Italy*, where those good *Fathers* were resolved not to give him a second occasion of boasting, that he had got safe out of their hands: strange things were objected to him; and as is pretended, they were proved against him; as that the *B. Virgin* was God equal with the Son; and that the *H. Ghost* was incarnate in her,

ber, as well as the *Eternal Word* was in her Son: that the three Persons in the Trinity were the first, the second, and the third Heavens: that the Son was from all Eternity discontented with the Father, for not making him equal to him: that the Consecrated Host had in it the Body of the Mother as well as that of the Son: and that the putting the pieces of it together in the Chalice, demonstrated the Union between the Mother and the Son. These Opinions were all proved against him: tho he protests that he never thought of them, yet he was forced to abjure them in the year 1668. and was upon that condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; he continued in the Prison of the *Inquisition*, till within these five or six years, that the Duke *d'Estrees* being sick, procured an Order for having *Burrhi* to come and treat him; and in gratitude to *Burrhi*, who cured him, he got his Prison changed to the Castle *St. Angelo*: where he now entertains himself with *Chimical* Processes. It is indeed very probable, that he had provoked the *Inquisition*, by speaking severely and reproachfully of them, and this was all his Crime, unless another *Article* against him might be his *Estate*; for of his 8000. *Crowns* a year, there is but 3000. left him; for the good *Fathers* have had the Charity to take 5000. to themselves: and his 3000. is so eat up by them, thro whose hands it comes to him, that he has not 1500.

Crowns a year payed him: and from this you may see what credit you ought to give to the *Processes*, the *Articles*, and the *Abjurations* that are made before that *Court*.

If instead of that Zeal which animates them against *Heresy*, they would purge their own *Church* of those Disorders, which they themselves acknowledg to be corruptions, they would sooner bring themselves again into credit. The scandalous *Pictures* that are in many *Churches* of *Italy*, are things that might deserve their care, if they would turn it to that hand. Is it not a shameful thing, that there has not been a great *Master* in *Painting* who has not put that Complement on his *Mistress*, as to paint her for the *Virgin*? so that the most celebrated *Madonna's* of *Italy* are known to have been the *Mistresses* of the Great *Painters*. The *Postures*, the *Looks*, and the *Nakedness* of many of the *Church-pieces*, are Monstrous Indecent things. The great design of the *Cupulo* at *Florence*, is such a Representation of *Vice*, that all that can be presented by a defiled Imagination, comes short of what is to be seen there: and tho the *Scripture* speaks but of one Apparition of the *Holy Ghost* in the shape of a *Dove*; one shall find this *Dove* on the Head, at the Ear, and the Mouth of I know not how many of their *Saints*; and as one finds in many *Pieces*, that their *Masters* have resolved to perpetuate their

their own Amours in them, so Amours are every day managed by the same methods: for while I was at *Rome*, I discovered an Intrigue between a *Fryer* and a *Nun*, by two *Pictures*, that were drawn for them: the *Fryer* was drawn as a *S. Anthony*, and the *Nun* as a *S. Katherine of Siena*: these they were to exchange, and so to feed their passion under this disguise of Devotion.

But to return to Indecent *Pictures*, there is nothing more scandalous, than the many various Representations of the *Trinity*, which must needs give to all *Jews* and *Mahometans* as well as to *us*, that pass for *Hereticks*, a strange horror to a *Religion* that suffers those odious Resemblances, that give such gross Ideas of the *Deity*, and of the *Trinity*: and that which is yet the most scandalous part of those *Pictures*, is that the Representation of *God the Father* is often diversified according to the caprice of the Painter; and he is to be seen in the Habits of the several *Orders* of that *Church*, and indeed both Features, Hair, Habit, and Postures, have all the diversity in them that is necessary to feed an *Idolatriy*, that is as Extravagant as it is gross.

The Picture of the *B. Virgin*, with the *Order* of the *Capuchins* under her Petticoat, is not very apt to raise Chast Idea's in those who look upon it. In short, whereas the Rule of the Antient *Architecture* of *Churches*, was to be

below and dark, which was thought the most proper, for the Recollection of a man's Faculties, and by consequence for *Devotion*, is now quite altered: and great *Cupulas* with a vast Illumination, are necessary to shew the Beauty of those rich Pieces, which would be lost in *Churches* built as dark as the Antient Ones were.

I confess, those Pictures are charming things, if they were any where else than in *Churches*: but the pleasure they give, does so possess a man that begins to understand them, that it will kindle any thoughts in him, sooner than devout ones. I will not here let my Pen carry me into a Subject that must needs set all my thoughts on fire; and speak of the great *Pieces* of *Painting* that are in *Italy*, and of the many *Masters* that it produced in the last Age: who as they were such Extraordinary men, so they lived within the Compass of one Age; as if the Perfection in that amazing Art had been to dye with them, as well as it was born with them; this, I say, would make one think, that there are Revolutions and Aspects in the Heavens that are favorable or cross to Arts or Sciences: and that then, the most favourable Aspect for *Painting* that ever was, produced those astonishing performances. For tho the great decay of Learning that is every where, may be reasonably enough resolved in this, that whereas in the
last

last *Age* many great *Princes* were either *Learned* themselves , or at least they made it a Maxim to protect and encourage *Learning*; but this having at last grown to an excess of Rudeness and Pedantry , and *Princes* becoming generally extream Ignorant, it came to pass for a piece of breeding, to say nothing that was beyond their pitch , or that seemed to reproach their Ignorance : and those who could not hide their Learning , were called *Pedants*: and pedantry was represented so odious, that Ignorance being the lasiest as well as the surest way to avoid this, all men took that very naturally; and when other methods are as effectual to raise men to the highest preferments either of the *Barr* or of the *Pulpit* as true Learning or reall Merit, few will choose the long and tedious, and often the most uncertain way, when the End that they propose to themselves , may be certainly compassed by a more effectual and easier one. Flattery and Submissions are sooner Learned and easier practised by men of low and mean souls , than much hard and dry study: thus, I say, the decay of *Learning* is very easily accounted for, in the *Age* in which we live : but as for the Art of *Painting* , it is still in such esteem , and great pieces go still at such vast rates , that if the Genius and capacity for it were not lost , there is encouragment enough still to set it a going:
but

but I leave this subject not without putting some constraint on my self; for who can think of such Wonderful men as *Correge, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Paulo Veronese, Iulio Romano, Carrache, Palma, Titian* and *Tintoret*, without feeling a concern at every time that he reflects on the Wonders of their pencils: *St. Lukes* pretended work, and even the supposed performances of *Angels*, are sad things set near their *pieces*. One, whose thoughts are full of the Wonders of that *Art*, that are to be seen in *Florence*, goes into the *Annunciata*, and sees not without Indignation, that adored picture of the *Virgin*, which, as the fond people there believe, was finished by an *Angel*, while the *Painter* that was working at it, and that could not animate it as he desired, fell asleep, who as soon as he awaked, saw his piece finished. This fiction of the *painters*, to raise the credit of his *picture*, is so well believed at *Florence*, that the *presents* made to enrich the *Altar* and *Chappel*, where it stands, are Invaluable: & yet after all, the *Angel's* work is still no better than the common *painting* of that time: and that *Angel-painter*, was but a bungler if compared, to the great *Masters*. In a word, what can be thought of humane nature, when in so refined a place as *Florence*, so coarse an Imposture has been able to draw to it, such an Inestimable stock of Wealth.

All these things are so many digressions from my main subject, which was, to shew you how much matter the *Inquisitors* might find, if they would use any exactness in redressing those Abuses which they themselves will not defend in common conversation: and yet tho the smallest thing, that seems even at the greatest distance to go against their Interest, is lookt after with a very watchful care; yet the grossest of all Impostures, that proves profitable to them, is much encouraged by them.

The fable of *Loretto*, is so black and so ridiculous a piece of Imposture, that I never saw a man of sense, that cared to enter upon that subject. I was once in Company where I took the liberty to propose two modest Exceptions to it: the one was, that about 200 years after the rest of the Angelical Labour in carying about that *Cottage* is pretended to have fallen out, *Vincent Ferrier*, whom they believe a great Saint, not only sayes nothing of its being then in *Italy*, but sayes expressly, that it was then in *Nazareth*, & that many *Miracles* were wrought about it. *Antonin of Florence*; who is also the most Impudent Writer of *Legends* that ever was, say's not a word of it some Ages after they say that it was at *Loretto*. All the answer that I had to this was, that it was no Article of Faith, but whether it was true or false, the Devotion

tion of the People was still entertained by it : and this , they said , was as much meritorious , tho founded on a Fable , as the giving of Charity to one who is believed a fit object , but yet is indeed a Cheat , is acceptable to God : and thus he who gives upon a good inward motive , will be rewarded according to the Disposition of his Mind , and not according to the Truth or Falsehood of the *Story* , that wrought upon him. I durst not press this matter too far : otherwise I would have replied , that how excusable soever the Superstition of Ignorant *People* may be , yet this does not at all justify the Cheat that the *Church* puts upon her so easily deluded children. The truth is , the *Romans* themselves have not such stiff notions of all the points of *Controversy* as we are apt to Imagine : this makes me remember a conversation that past some years ago , between an *Abbot* & one of our *Clergymen* , that was then a Governour to a *Person* of Quality , that in his *Travels* stay'd for some time at *Rome*. The *Abbot* seeing the *Governour* was considered as a man of *Learning* , desired to be Informed of him , what were the *Points* in difference between the *two* Churches : so the Governour told him , that *we* had our *worship* in a known tongue ; that we gave the *Cup* in the Sacrament ; that we had no *Images* , and did not pray to *Saints* : all this did not disturb the *Abbot* , who said , that these were only diffe-

different *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which might be well enough born with: when the other added, that we did not believe *Transubstantiation* nor *Purgatory*, the *Abbot* said, these were the subtilties of the School: so he was very gentle till the *Governour* told him, that we did not acknowledge the *Pope*; then the *Abbot* was all on fire, and could not comprehend, how men could be *Christians*, that did not acknowledge Christs *Vicar*, and *S. Peter's Successor*: and it is very plain at *Rome* at this day, that they consider the *Conversion* of *Nations*, only as it may bring in more profit into the *Datary Court*, and raise the value of the *Offices* there; for when I seemed amased in conversation with some of them, to see so little regard had to the *Ambassadour* of *England*, and to every thing that he proposed; they told me plainly, that perhaps the *Angels* in *Heaven* rejoiced at the conversion of a sinner upon the pure motives of perfect *Charity*, but they at *Rome* looked at other things. They saw no profit like to come from *England*; no *Bulls* were called for, and no *Compositions* like to be made; if those things should once appear, then an *Ambassadour* from thence would be treated like the penitent *Prodigal*, especially if he were a little less governed by the *Jesuites*, who were believed to have managed our *Ambassadour* a little too absolutely: and here it will be no unpleasant digression if I tell you

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the true reason that retarded the *Promotion* of the Cardinal *d'Esté* so long.

The *Pope* himself saw what the *Uncle* of this *Cardinal* did at *Rome*, in *P. Alexander* the 7th time, upon the business of the *Corfis*, and the affront that was put on the *Duke of Crequy*, which made so much noise. That *Cardinal* being then the *Protector* of the *French Nation*, offered first to the *D. of Crequy*, to go with him, accompanied with 500 Men, that he knew he could raise in *Rome*, to the *Palace of Dom Mario Chigi*, and to fling him out at window: but the *D. of Crequy* thinking that such a revenge went too far, the *Cardinal* himself went accompanied with his 500 Men to the *Palace*, and expostulated the matter with the *Pope*, and demanded *Reparation*; and when the *Pope* put it by in some general answers, he prest him so hard, till the *Pope* threatened to pull his *Cap* from him, but he answered, *that he would clap a Head-piece on it, to defend it, and that he would never part with that, till he had pulled the Tripple Crown from his head*: This was vigorous, and the *Cardinal* had a mind to perpetuate the memory of it, for he made himself be drawn with a *Headpiece* by him, his hand pointing towards it, which I saw at *Modena*; and it is plain by their way of speaking of this matter, that they were proud of it. The present *Pope* being at that time a *Cardinal* saw this disorder, and so he was resolved never

to raise one of that *family* to the *Purple*: yet the earnest and repeated Instances from *England*, overcame him at last.

But now again I return to that from which I have digressed so often, which is the work that the *Inquisition* might find in *Italy*, even without departing from any of their received Principles. That scandalous Imposture of the *blood* of S. *Januarius* at *Naples*, that seems to be firm & dry in the *Vial*, and that dissolves and moves as it is brought near his Head, which is so firmly believed by all the bigots there, must needs give an Indignation to all that love Truth, when they see such gross Deceptions put upon the World. I will not take upon me to say how it is managed; but nothing is more easy than the ordering of this matter may be. For if that *Vial* be filled with tinctured liquor, the *Vial* being put in Ice and Salt, will freeze in an Instant; and it being again in the air, may return very quickly to its former state, so that there is no need of any great skill for the conducting this matter: and it is so much their Interest, who have the keeping of this pretended *Blood*, to keep the secret very religiously, that it is no wonder if it is not discovered. He indeed who either doubts of it, or would adventure to discover it, must resolve to go and live some where else than in *Naples*, where this passes for the chief Glory, as well as the greatest blessing of their *City*: and the *people* there are so

extreamly credulous, & the *Priests* are so very Insolent, that this has appeared of late in such Instances, that if the *Viceroy of Naples*, were not both a very extraordinary man, and most excessively esteemed and beloved there, he could not have stood his ground in the *Dispute* which is now on foot, and of which tho all the *Gazettes* make mention, yet I may perhaps tell you some particulars, that may be new to you, for I was in *Naples* while this matter was in its greatest heat.

The business of the *Ecclesiastical Immunities* is carried so high here, that the *General* of the *Horse*, who is by birth a *Flemming*, had almost felt it to his cost; there were two under him that had quarrelled, but were made Friends and one of these meeting the other some days after that, he embraced him with all the shew of Friendship, but having a *stiletto* in his hand he managed it so fatally, that under all the appearances of tender Embraces, he killed him out-right; and presently he took Sanctuary in a *Church*, that was hard by; the *General* hearing of this, resolved he would make an Example of the *Murderer*: but not daring to drag him out of the *Church*, he set a Sentinel to the Doors, reckoning that hunger would soon force him to come out: and tho the *Priest* that belonged to the *Church*, carried him in some Provisions, yet that could not serve him long. But the *General* was forced to discharge
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the *Sentinels*: for he was Informed, that an *Excommunication* was coming out against him, for distrurbing the devotions of those that went to the *Church*: and he knew that if the *Excommunication* should be once given out, nobody would so much as talk with him or come near him after that: so he would not run that risque: and this *Assassinate* had a fair occasion given him to make his escape: this was a good Essay of the Zeal for the *Immunity of places*. Another fell out about the same time near *Leghorn*, in which the sacredness of exempted persons was asserted in a manner that was no less scandalous; a *Priest* was seized on, for a most horrid Crime, either a *Rape* or a *Murder*, I do not remember which: but he who had no mind to be taken, defended himself; and shot one of the *Sbiri*, upon which the rest run away. So he apprehending that a stronger party would be sent, that would be too hard for him, went and retired into a Wood, with his *Fusée*; and some being sent to find him out, he had shot six or seven of them; yet after all the sacred Character was like to save this execrable man; for while I was at *Leghorn* I was told that an *Excommunication* was coming out, against all that should violate the *Ecclesiastical Immunities* in his Person: and no doubt the *Great Duke* will give way to this: for he is so entirely delivered up to his *Priests*, and is become so

excessively scrupulous, that to deliver himself from those Troubles of Conscience, which many things, in the Administration of the Government are apt to give him, he has found out an easy receipt, which if all other *Princes* can be brought to follow, it will be very happy for their *Ministers*. He then considers, that the only sure way to be Innocent in the Conduct of Affairs, is not to know them at all: but to devolve them entirely on his *Ministers*, who do all, without so much as communicating matters to him.

But the *Viceroy* of *Naples* is not so very tractable in those matters, as appears by the vigour with which he has supported the *secular Tribunal* against the Invasions of the *Ecclesiastical Court*. That which gave the rise to the dispute, was, a *sute* that was between a *Layman* and a *Church-man*, before one of the *Judges* of *Naples*, who decided in favour of the *Layman*; upon which it was pretended, that this was a Violation of the *Immunities* of the *Church*: so the *Judge* was *Excommunicated*; And upon it no body would willingly appear before him, or so much as speak to him, so terrible a thing is that Thunder there: but the *Viceroy* has shewed on this occasion, that firmness that has appeared in all his other Actions: and has also received *Orders* from *Spain* authorising him to keep his ground. The *Judge* is not only maintained in what he has done, but continues still to sit on the *bench*, all people are forced

forced to bring their causes before him ; & his Sentences are executed with resolution. This Contempt put on the *Ecclesiastical* Censures by a *Minister of Spain*, and at a time in which the *Pope* is so much in their *Interests*, is a little Extraordinary. But the affront that the *Viceroy* put on an *Auditor* of the *Nuntio's*, was yet much more provoking, for it was managed with a particular care to make the Scorn very wounding as well as it was publick. The *Nuntio* is believed to do ill Offices in this matter ; and his *Auditor* was known to be a man of *Liberties* ; it was found out that he went often to a *Bordello* ; the *Viceroy* therefore gave order to watch him so carefully, that the *Sbiri* should be sure to find him in such circumstances, as should make his shame very Conspicuous : so he was taken , and carried before the next *Judge* : the thing was laid before hand, and the *Judge* refusing to meddle in it, the *Sbiri* (a sort of men like our *Bailiffs*) carried him to another, and so made the round of all the *Judges* in *Naples* ; and every one of them refusing to meddle with the *Auditor*, the *Sbiri* let him go, when the matter was made sufficiently publick, by their carrying him about to so many places. The *Nuntio* complained of the Violation of the Rights of a *Publick Minister*, especially of so sacred a one. But the Reparation that the *Viceroy* made, was a redoubling of the Affront : for he ordered the *Sbiri* that had

taken the *Auditor*, to be carried about all *Naples* with an *Inscription* writ in Capital Letters, both on their Breasts and on their Backs, mentioning the Crime for which they were thus led about, *which was their having disturbed the Nuntio's Auditor in his pleasures.*

You will easily imagin that this was considered at *Rome* as a most outrageous Affront; and indeed the *Pope* has carried the matter of the *Regale* in *France* so very far, that it is hard to tell to what a degree this breach in *Naples* may be also carried: for tho the *Pope* is most excessively ignorant in all those Matters, yet he has another Quality, that is the only thing that is great in him, and that would indeed become him very well, if he had a little more Knowledge to govern it: and that is, *that he is the wilfullest man alive*; and his temper is fearless enough to make him shut his Eyes upon all Danger.

It cannot be denied, but it is the Interest of the *Pope*, as he is a *Temporal Prince*, to be of the side that is now the weakest; and that needs his support the most: and therefore it is no wonder if he is so favourable to the Crown of *Spain*, and the House of *Austria*: but after all, his carrying the business of the *Regale* so far, against so great a King, and a King that has merited so much from that Church, by his zeal against *Hereticks*, is some-

somewhat unaccountable: After all the Havock, that has been made both by *Princes* and *Popes* of the true Liberties of the *Church*, and particularly after that shameful Bargain that was made between them in the *Concordate*, it has a very ill grace to see a *Pope* make this the subject of so great and so long a Dispute; and that the factious Clamours of a few ill-natured and angry *Priests*, should have been so much considered, as to interrupt the good understanding of the *Courts* of the *Vatican* and *Versailles*. All this flowed from the ill opinion that the *Pope* had of the *Jesuites*, which being known in *France*, the *Jansenists* thought it was high time for them to recommend themselves to the *Court* of *Rome*, in hope of mortifying the *Jesuites*: yet they could not with any decency carry the *Papal Authority* high, after they had with so much force both of reason and learning, depressed it as they had done: so they betook themselves to the first thing that offered it self, that they knew would be very acceptable in *Rome*, which was the asserting the *Liberties* of the *Church*, and the disputing the *Kings* Imposing the *Rights* of the *Regale* (that is, the mean profits of *Bishopricks*, and the *Collating* to *Benefices* without *Cure*, during the *Vacancy*) on the four southern *Provinces* of *France*. I will not say more of a matter that is so well known, only I will tell

you, what a *Doctor* of the *Sorbon* said to me upon this subject; I found he did not believe the *Pope's Authority* more than I did my self; and yet he was one of those that indirectly opposed the *Articles* of the *Clergy*, and the condemnation that was past on the Bishop of *Strigonium's* Censure of those *Articles*; for his Authority and Learning gave a great turn to that matter: so when I seemed amased at this, that a man of his Principles, had acted as he had done upon that occasion, he told me, he had no other Consideration before him in that matter, but to mortify the *Clergy* of *France*, and to maintain the Dignity of the *Sorbon*. It was not long since that in the Dispute about *Jansenius's* matter, they had made the *Pope* not only *Infallible* in matters of *Right*, but of *Fact*: and now because the *Pope* was not in the Interests of *France*, the dispute of *Infallibility*, and of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, were again set on foot; all which would be given up, and the *Pope* would be considered *Infallible* to morrow, if he were once more in the Interests of *France*; & the *Clergy*, who had neither learning nor vertue, but made up all Defects, by a slavish Obsequiousness, would be then as forward to magnify the *Infallibility*, as they are now to depress it.

How far the *Pope* will embroil himself in this new business of the *Franchises*, I do not know: he has expressed a great steadiness in

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it; and the truth is, *Rome* is now so sunk from what it was, and the *Franchises* are so considerable a part of the City, that their being covered from the *Execution*, both of Civil and Criminal *Justice*, is a most horrible Disorder: and it seems reasonable enough, that as in all other Courts, there is nothing now under the *Ambassadors* Protection, but that which is within his Gates, so the same Regulation should be made in *Rome*; where the extent of those privileged Places is very great: yet after all, if the *French Ambassador*, that is now on his way thither, has positive Orders to maintain them, and has money enough to list men, if the matter goes on to a more obstinate Dispute; It will be no hard matter for him to raise such a Revolt in *Rome*, that neither the *Popes Guards*, nor those in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, will be able to subdue it: and if this matter goes on so far, the *French* will very probably cut off all *Annates*, and find a shorter way of granting of *Bulls* within the *Kingdom*. It is said, that while some have represented the apparent Inconveniencies of a Rupture with *France* to the *Pope*, and that he was in no condition to resist that mighty Power: He answered, *that he would suffer Martyrdom in maintaining the Rights of St. Peter*. It must be confessed, that there was something in this saying that was more Magnanimous, than prudent. And indeed

deed the *Popes* way of treating with *Ambassadors*, has somewhat in it that comes neerer the simplicity of the Fishermen, the more modern Politicks. His dry Answer to our *Ambassadour*, when he threatned him that he would leave *Rome*, and go back to *England*, if he were not better used; *Lei e Padrone*; *You are Master of that as you please*; had an air in it that I should have been much pleased with, if it had fallen on any other than on the *King's Minister*.

His Conduct of the *Revenue* is an unaccountable thing; for if there is not a vast *Treasure* laid up, or a most prodigious deal of *Wealth* secretly conveyed to his *Family*, it is not to be imagined what has become of all that *Revenue* that he has raised, in which the Income is so vastly disproportioned to the expence, that the most prying men do not know what is become of it. The War with the *Turks* has not cost him so much as is believed; on the contrary, many think that he has got by it; and that the *Taxes* which he has laid on the *Clergy* of *Italy* amount to more than he has laid out upon it: It is certain, it has not cost him very much. He retrenched all Expenses to so great a degree, that even the publick *Charities* were lessened: for in *Lent*, there is a weekly Charity of a *Julio*, or a six pence, to all the *poor* that come and ask it: and the *poor* commonly brought their Children with them,

them, so that they got as many *Julio's* as they brought *Children*; but the *Pope* limited this, that no Charity should be given to any under such an Age, as I remember it was below ten year old. The Administration of the *Revenue* is indeed the only thing that he understands, and in which he employs all his thoughts: and it was believed, that the true Secret of the greatest number of the *Cardinals* in the last *Promotion*, was the Advantages that he made by the sale of the *Offices* which they held, and that fell to the *Pope* upon their Advancement; out of which it was thought that he gained above a *Million*: and upon this I will tell you, what I have learned concerning the aversion that two of the *Cardinals*, *Taia* and *Ricci*, expressed to the *Purple* in the *Promotion* that was made five year ago; this was magnified in several Books, that were printed out of *Italy*, as somewhat that seemed to approach to the best Ages of the *Primitive Times*, when men refused to accept of so great a *Dignity*, that brought them within a step of the *Supream Elevation*: but the truth of this matter was, they were both men of *Fourscore*, and not like to live long; as they both died within a year of their Preferment: they had very good Employments, which they had bought, and which by their accepting the *Purple* were to fall into the *Pope's* hands: besides that, the new *Dignity* was not

to be entred upon without a great Expence : so all this being considered, the vertue of refusing so chargeable a *Dignity*, in men that were more concerned for their *Families*, than for that small remnant of life that was before them, was not so very Extraordinary.

But since I am upon the discourse of *promoting of Cardinals*, I will tell you a remarkable Instance of a *Promotion*, that I do not remember to have met with in any *Book*; and the *Dignity* of the *Person* and of the *Family* descended from him makes me think it worth the relating; and the rather because I had it from no ordinary person, but from one of the exactest men in *Rome*, and who has taken the greatest pains to be well Informed in the *Modern History*. I had seen several pictures of *Clara Farnese*, for there are more than one of them in the *Palestrina*: so I knowing nothing concerning her, asked her story, which in short was this: that she was P. *Paul* the 3^d's *Sister*, and the person to whom he owed his *Cardinals Cap*; and by Consequence all that followed upon it, tho he rewarded her ill for it; for he *poysoned* both *her* and his *Mother*, that he might have all their *Wealth*; their *Father* was a poor man, that went about selling *Saucidges* and such sort of stuff. *Clara* was married young, and was soon a *Widdow*; she was a lovely woman, but no Extraordinary beauty: her *Brother* was bred to Letters, and was one of those
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poor *Churchmen*, that was looking about on all hands where he might find a Patron; when of a sudden his *Sisters* charms and her artifices together raised him to a height, to which he was far enough from pretending at that time. On a great occasion *Clara Farnese* was so near P. *Alexander* the 6th, and was so much in his Eye & in his thoughts, that he ordered one that was about him, to enquire who she was, and where she lived: Instruments upon such occasions are never wanting to great Persons: and notwithstanding the *Popes* great Age, yet his Vices hung still so close to him, that he could have no quiet till *Clara Farnese* was brought him. She resolved to manage her self on this occasion, and to raise her price all that was possible, so a *Cardinals Cap* to her Brother was both asked and granted: a promise of it was made at least, upon which she came and attended on the old leud *Pope*: yet when the next *Promotion* came to be in agitation, the Proposition for *Abbot Farnese* was rejected by *Cesar Borgia* with scorn; he had never been a slave to his word, and he had no mind that his *Father* should observe it on this occasion.

The way of a *Promotion* is this, the *Pope* settles the *List* of the *Cardinals*, and writes down all their names in a paper with his own hand; and in a *Consistory*, when all other business is ended, he throws down the *Paper* on the *Table*, and say's to the *Cardinals*, *habetis Fratres;*

you have now some Brethren. One of the *Secretaries* upon that takes up the Paper, and reads the *Names* aloud; and the *Sbiri* are at the door, and as soon as one is named, they run for it, to see who shall be able to carry the first newes of it to the party concerned.

Upon this occasion, the *Pope* after he had concerted the *Promotion* with his *Son*, writ down all the names. *Clara Farnese* was in great apprehensions for her *Brother*, so she being to pass that night with the *Pope*, rise when the old man was fast asleep, & searched his Pocket, & found the *Paper*, but her *Brothers* name was not in it: then she let her self with great care to counterfeit the *Popes* hand; and writ her *Brothers* name the first in the *List*: next morning she kept the *Pope* as long in bed as was possible; till word was brought him, that the *Consistory* was set; and that the *Cardinals* were all come: for she reckoned that the less time that the *Pope* had for being drest, there was the less Danger of his looking into his *Paper*: So without ever opening it, he went into the *Consistory*, and according to Custom, he threw down the *list* on the Table: but to the great surprise of him, and of all that were upon his Secrets, the first name that was read, was that of *Abbot Farnese*; and it seems the *Pope* thought it better to let the matter pass, than to suffer the true secret of the business to break out. It is well that the Doctrine of the Inten-

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tion, does not belong to the Creation of *Cardinals*, otherwise here was a Nullity with a Witness. Thus begun that long course of *P. Paul* the *thirds* greatness, who lived above 50 years after this, and laid the Foundation of the Family of *Parma*, which he saw quite overthrown, his *Son* being assassinated in his own time; and both his *Grand-children* having revolted against him, which, as was believed, precipitated his death, tho he was then *Four-score*.

But now I return to the present *Pope*; for I have writ you a very loose sort of a *Letter*, all made up of digressions. His aversion to the *Order* of the *Jesuites* is very visible; for he takes all occasions to mortify them; and every thing that is proposed to him, thrives the worse for their sakes, if he believes they are concerned in it; which was given by all at *Rome*, as the true reason of the cold usage that the *English Ambassadour* found there. Indeed the *Pope* is not singular in the hard thoughts that he has of that *Order*: I never saw an Indifferent man in all *Italy*, that was of another mind: they do generally look upon them as a Covetous; Fraudulent, Intriguing, and turbulent sort of people; who can never be at quiet, unless they *reign*: who are men of no *Morals*; that will stick at nothing that may raise the Wealth and Power of their *Order*: and at *Rome* they do not stick to say, that all the con-

cerns of the *Roman Catholick Religion* must needs miscarry in *England*, because the *Iesuites* are so much in credit there. And indeed the Extravagantly vain *Letters* that they write to *Rome* out of *England*, are such contextures of *Legends*, that ever since I saw them, I know what value I ought to put on their *Letters* that come from the *Indies* and other remote Countreys; for when they take so great a Liberty when the Falsehood is so easily found out, what must me think of the *Relations* that come from places at such a distance, that they may lie with more assurance & less hazard of discovery.

The *Letter* that was writ in *February* last from *Liege* to the *Iesuites* at *Friburg*, of which so many *Copies* were given, that it got to the Press at last, was a good Instance of their Vanity, and of the small regard that they have to a *Prince*, that has as they give out, so much for them. Their representing the *King*, as so concerned in the *Interests* of their *Order*, that he espoused them all as if they were his own, that he was now become a *Son of the Society*, and that he was received into a communication of the Merits of the *Order*, (that a share in their Treasure upon Earth were much more considerable thing, than of their Treasure that is Invisible,) Their setting out the *Kings Zeal* for their *Religion*, in such high terms, that they say he is resolved to die *Martyr* rather than not to succeed in his design

sign of changing the Religion, and converting the Nation: and this at a time when the King was declaring himself so much for Liberty of Conscience: and their affirming that the King is become bigotted to so high a degree, as to refuse to suffer a Priest to kneel down and do the duty of a Subject in kissing his Hand, and to tell him, that he himself ought rather to kneel down, and to kiss his Hands: all these are such Extravagant strains, that by the boldness of them it is Evident, that they were writ by a Jesuite, and my Copy came to me from so good a hand, and so near the source, that how many Falsehoods soever may be in that Letter, I can assure you, it is no Imposition, but was really writ by those of Liege.

In a word, all the Romans have so very ill an Opinion of the Jesuits, that as soon as any piece of *Newes* comes from England, that is not favourable to their Affairs, one finds all, from the highest to the lowest, agree in the same short reflection; Thus it must ever be, where the Jesuites have such a share in the Councils. A man long practised in the Court of Rome, told me, it was impossible it could be otherwise, for all the chief men of that Order are kept teaching in their Schools, till they are almost forty years of age; and by that means Pedantry, a disputatious and imperious humour, and a peevish littleness of soul, becomes natural to them, so that an

Eminent man here said to me, *It was Impossible that matters could go better than they did in England, as long as the Morals and the Politics of the Jesuites, and the Understanding and Courage of the Irish, were so much relied on.*

But besides all these General Considerations, there are some things in the Constitution of the *Order of the Jesuites* that give those at *Rome* reason enough to be on the Guard against them. There are two things peculiar to this *Order* that make it very formidable; the one is, that those who have made the fourth *vow* are capable of no *Preferment*, unless it be to be *Cardinals*, and then they are indeed capable of *Bishopricks*. In most of the other *Orders*, every man has his own private Interest, and his particular views; so that they are not always looking after the concerns of their *Order*. But a *Jesuite* can receive no Honour but from his *Order*, therefore he consecrates himself to it, and advances the *Interests* of the *Society* with all possible zeal, knowing that there is no other way left him to advance his own *Interests*, but this. So that Hope being one of the great Springs of humane Nature, a *Jesuite*, who hopes for nothing but from his *Order*, must be extremely devoted to it. Besides this, a *Jesuite* fears nothing but from his *Order*: They have not a *Cardinal Protector*

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Director, as the other *Orders* have, to whom an Appeal lies from the sentence of the *General* of the *Order*: but the *Iesuites* are a body more shut up within themselves; for the sentence of the *General* is definitive, and can never be reviewed, no *Appeal* lying from it: whensoever a *Pope* comes that dares mortify them, he will open a way for *Appeals*, for till that is done, the *General* of the *Iesuites* is the most Absolute and the most Arbitrary overaigh that is in the World.

All these things concur to Unite almost all the several *Interests* in *Rome* against this *Society*, which yet is strong enough to support it self against them all: they have the *Mission* generally in their hands; for the *Congregation de Propaganda*, payes a small pension of 20 *Crowns* to all the *Secular Priests* that are on the *Mission*, whereas the *Iesuites* bear the expences of their own *Missionaries*, to whom they allow an 100 *Crowns* a year: & those of the *Propaganda* being willing to be freed of a charge, accept of the *Missionaries* that the *Iesuites* offer them: and they find their account in this. Their *Missionaries* are powerfully recommended, so they are quickly received into *Families*, especially where there are young *children* to be bred up, or *Estates* to be managed: for in these two lies their strength: but they never forget their *Order*, for which they are as so many *Factors* every

where: and they draw vast Presents from a places to the *House* that returns them the Appointments; wheras the poor *Secular Priest* must make a shift to live out of the small allowance that he has from the *Congregation de Propaganda fide*, and out of what he can raise by his *Masses*. Therefore there is nothing that they desire so much, as to see *Protestant States* that give a Tolerance to *Poper*y, grow once so wise as to shut out all the *Regulars*, and above all the *Jesuites*; and to admit none but *Secular Priests*: for the former, as they are so many *Agents*, to return all the wealth that they can possibly draw together, to the *house* to which they belong, so they are united together in one Body, under a most strict Obedience to their *General*, which may be a great prejudice to the Peace and Security of a *Countrey*, as the other is to its Wealth and Abundance: on the other hand, the *Secular Priests* are generally good-natured men, who are only subject to their *Bishop*, and that have no designs upon the *Government*, nor the Concerns of any *House* that is in *Forreign Par*ty lying upon them: so that since those of the *Communion* have the full exercise and all the Consolation of their Religion from *Secular Priests*, even those in *Rome* it self wonder at the Error of *Protestant States*, who have not Learned long ago to make this difference in the Toleration that they allow: And one that

has been almost 50 years in the most refined practices of the *Court of Rome*, said to me with a very sensible concern, *how happy would we here reckon our selves, if we could have a Toleration of our Religion allowed in England, tho it were with an Eternal Exclusion of all Regulars and Iesuites?* and added, that if he saw good grounds for making it, he himself would go and carry the Proposition to those of the *Propaganda*.

And now I am sure, I have rambled over a great Variety of matter, and have made a shift to bring in to one place or other of this *Letter*, a great many particulars, that I could have hardly brought out in an exactness of Method, without a much greater compass of words, and a greater stiffness of form: but I thought it was more natural, and by consequence, that it would be more acceptable to you, to make them follow one another, in an easy and unforced contexture. I have discoursed all these matters often over and over again since I came into *Italy*: but have read very little concerning them; therefore there may be many things here, that I mention because they were new to me, that perhaps are no newes to those that are much more Learned than my self. I have told you all that I could gather upon these subjects from the wisest and worthiest men that

I found here : I have writ of all matters freely to you, because I am in a Countrey where freedom of discourse, in matters of *State* especially, is practised in its utmost extent.

I have yet matter for another long *letter*, in which the matters of *Religion* will have no share; for I will end all these in this: and therefore there is one piece of the *Superstition* of *Lombardy*, that affected me too sensibly, not to lead me to bestow a severe censure upon it. I went through that Countrey in *October* and *November*, and was often in great distress, because it was not possible to find a Glass of *Wine*, that could be drunk, all being either dead or four. At *Parma* I waited on an Eminent *Person*, and lamented to him the misery of *Travallers*, since no *Wine* was to be found that could be drunk: he told me, the *Natives* felt this much more sensibly than *Strangers* did, with whom it was soon over, but they were condemned to suffer that every *year*; and tho he himself had *Vineyards*, that produced much more *Wine* than he could consume, yet he could not be Master of a good Glass of *Wine*, for a great many *Months* of the year; since all the *people* were possessed with this *Superstition*, that it was Indispensably necessary to mix it with *Water* in the *Cask*, that by this means it drunk dead or four for so great a part of the *year*:

year : and all that could be said could not beat this out of the heads of those that dressed their *Wine*: but he added, that the *Priests*, who confirmed the *vulgar* in this Conceit, had found a Device to excuse their own *Wine* from this hard fate : for they said, it must needs be kept unmixed, since in the *Sacrament* the *Wine* must be pure, and is then only to be mixed with *Water*; and thus in all their *Cellars* good *Wine* is to be found, where there is not a drop any where else that can be drunk: one would think that this is to abuse the Weakness and Credulity of the *People*, a little too grossly, when they condemn all the *laity* to drink ill *Wine*, whereas they themselves drink it pure, which is felt more sensibly by the *Laity*, than the depriving them of the *Chalice*, and the engrossing it to the *Priest* in the *Sacrament*. Yet the *Excise* that is laid on the *Wine* in *Florence*, has taught the Inhabitants a point of Wisdom, that those on the other side of the *Appenins* are not capable of ; for the *Excise* being raised upon all their *Wine*, the *People* who have no mind to pay *Excise* for *Water*, keep their *Wine* pure, so perhaps some such severity in the Government in *Lombardy*, may likewise reform them in this piece of absurd *Superstition*, which I felt too sensibly with all the effects that naturally follow the drinking of sour Liquor, not to Insist upon it with some more than ordinary concern.

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But since I am upon the point, of the *Arts* that the *Convents* have to live easy, I will end this *Letter* with an account of a *House* that was very Extraordinary, which I saw in my way to *Italy* thro *Bavaria*; *Etal*, an Abbey of *Benedictines*, that by its foundation is bound only to maintain an *Abbot* and 25 *Monks*. It was founded by *Lewis Duke of Bavaria*, that was *Emperour*: the building is not answerable to the Endowment, which is so vast, that they keep a *stable* of 150 *horses*, which is indeed one of the best in *Germany*, the *horses* are of great value, and well kept: they hunt perpetually, and live in as great an abundance of all things as the *Duke of Bavaria* himself can do; and yet these are *Religious men*, that are dead to the World.

I cannot forget to tell you a very beautifully diversified *prospect* that we had at *Burgo*, a little *Town* in the hills of *Trent*, as we lookt out at window, We saw before us a lovely *Meadow* in all the Beauty and Pride of the *Moneth* of *May*: a little beyond that was a rising *Bank* all covered over with *Trees* in their full verdure: beyond that the ground rise higher, and the *Trees* had not yet put out their leaves, and things lookt dead and dry, as after *Harvest*: and beyond that there was a huge *hill*, all covered on the top with *snow*: so that here we saw in one *prospect* all the *seasons* of the *year*: upon which
one

one of the Company made this reflection, that if any *Painter* should in one *Landskip*; mix all these things, that were then in our eye, he would be thought a man of an Irregular fancy, whose designs did not agree with nature; and yet we had them all then before us. I will make no Excuses nor Compliments: for those things do not mend matters, and therefore I send you my *Letter*, such as it is, just as it has grown under my Pen: and so *Adieu*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I find I have forgot to mention one, very extravagant piece of *Devotion*, to which I was a Witness at *Rome*, on the 17 of *January*, which is *St. Anthonys day*, that was the great *Father* of the *Monastick Orders*, whose Life is pretended to be writ by *S. Athanase*; all *Horses* and other *Beasts of Burden* are believed to be in an especial manner under his *Protection*: and the *Monks* of his *Order*, have a House near *St. Maria Maggiore*; thither all the *Horses*, *Mulets* and *Asses* of *Rome*, and all round the *City*, are brought that day to the door of the *Church*, where some *Monks* stand with a Broom in *holy water*, and sprinkle it upon them all: many *Dogs* and *Lambs*, and other favo-

favorite *Animals*, are also brought to share in this *Asperſion*: which is believed to have a moſt ſpecial vertue: the force of this hallowing is believed to be ſuch, that if any ſhould fail to bring his *Horſes* thither, all the Neighbourhood would look on thoſe that have no portion in it, as accuſed *Animals*, upon whom ſome unlucky Accident were hanging; which is ſo firmly believed, that none would hire a *Horſe* or a *Mulet*, that had not been ſo ſprinkled. So that from the Popes *Horſes* down to the pooreſt man in *Rome*, all are brought thither; but this is not all, the profitable part of this piece of Folly is, that every one brings a Preſent; the richer ſort ſend Purſes of *Money*; ſome give great *Wax-Lights*, all ſtuck full of *Teſtons* (a piece of 20 pence) the poorer bring either ſmaller pieces of *Money*, or Preſents of *Wine*, *Oyl*, *Bread*, or ſuch things as they can afford: but in a Word, no man comes empty; ſo that this is the Market-day of thoſe *Monks*, in which for ſome *Gallons* of *Water* and *Salt*, they get more Preſents, than would ſerve to maintain them for ſeven years: they quickly convert all that is not neceſſary for them into *Money*: and by this means they are vaſtly rich. When I ſaw all this, I could not but think that *men* muſt become fiſt *Beaſts* themſelves, before things of this kind could paſs upon them: but ſince I have
added

added this in a *Postscript*, rather than give myself the trouble to make it come in pertinently into my *Letter* I will add another particular that is writ me from *Rome* the sixth of *October* 1687.

I am told, that men are now more puzzled in their thoughts with Relation to the business of *Molinos* than ever. It was Visible that his *Abjuration* was only a pretended thing; for in effect he has abjured nothing: his party believe, that they are very numerous, not only in *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *France*, and in all these parts of the world, but that they have many followers even in *America* it self: one sees now in almost all the *Churches* in *Rome* some of them *praying* in corners, with their Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and all in Tears, and Sighs; which is no small trouble to those who thought they had quite routed them: but find they are not so much quasht as it was thought they would have been by the mock *Triumph* that was made upon *Molinos*. Nor do they believe a word of those Reports that are spread of his Leudness: they say, there was no Proof ever brought of it; and that there are many *thousands* in *Rome*, of both sexes, that conversed much with him, who have all possible reason to conclude, that all these stories that were given out concerning him, are Impudent *Calumnies*, set about only to blast *Him* and his

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Doctrine: and the truth is , this seems to be much confirmed by the *Bull* that condemns his *Books* , and his *Doctrine* ; in which no mention is made of his ill *Life* and *Hypocrisy*, which had been very probably done if the matter had been well proved : since this would not only have satisfied people , with relation to him , but would have very much confirmed the Accusations of those horrid *Opinions* that are laid to his Charge, Which had appeared with much more Evidence , if it had been found that his *Life* had agreed with those *Tenets* : for tho it had not been a just Inference to conclude him guilty of those things , because they were charged on him in the *Bull* , yet one may reckon it almost a sure Inference , that he is not guilty of them , since the *Bull* does not tax him for them.

A T H I R D

LETTER,

Concerning some of the

S T A T E S

O F

I T A L Y;

And of their present Interest and
Policy.

S I R;

U Threw into my former *Letter*, all those general *Reflections* on the State of *Religion*, and the Maxims of the *Romans*, concerning it, that I could gather together during my Stay at *Rome*. Now I quit that subject, and shall at present en-

entertain you with some *Political Observations*, which will be so much the more acceptable, because I fancy they will be new to you.

But before I go so far as *Italy*, I will give you an account of a very curious *Salt-work*, that I saw in my way to *Italy*, at *Sode* near *Francfort*. It belongs to Mr. *Malapert*, and has been wrought above 60 years; but the present Master of it, as he is a man of great worth, so he is very Ingenious, and has much perfected that, which was managed at a much greater Expence before he undertook it. There rises at the foot of some little *Hills*, which produce a very good *Wine*; a *Spring of Water*, that is so very little brackish to the tast, that one will hardly think it possible to fetch much *Salt* out of it; yet it has such a tast of *Salt*, that there was room for Industry to prepare this *Water*, so that without such an expence in Fire as should eat out the profit, it might turn to a good account; which Mr. *Malapert* seems to have carried as far as is possible. The *Meadow* that lies in the level with this *Spring*, is Impregnate with *Salt*, *Iron*, *Nitre*, and *Sulphur*: but *Salt* is that which prevails: first then, a Pump is put upon this *Spring*, which is managed by a *Water-mil*, and throws up the *Water* about fifteen Foot high; and then it goes by a Pipe into vast *Machines*, that are made to receive it.

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There is a great piece of ground Inclosed, in which there are 24 vast *Chests* or *Cisterns* for the *Water*, in two *stories*, 12 in a story, the one just over the other; they are about *seventy* foot long, *twelve* broad, and *two* deep; over every one of these, there is a roof of boards, supported by wooden Pillars, of 12 foot high; which covers them from *Rain-water*, but yet the water within them is in a full exposition to the Sun; those roofs are hung with straw, upon which some that manage the work, are often throwing up the *Water*, so that a great deal of the *phlegme* is Imbibed by the Straw, and the more fixed parts fall down: according to the heat of the Season, this Evaporation of the watry parts, goes quicker or slower; there is a *Gage*, by which they *Weigh* the *Water*, and so they know how the Evaporation advances; it is of *Silver*, and is so made, that according to the weight of the *Water*, it sinks in it to such a depth; & so by the degrees markt upon it, they know how heavy the *Water* is: according then to the heat of the season, and the progress of the Evaporation, they let the *Water* out of one *Cistern* into another, by a *Pipe*, and when it has past thro the 12 that are in the upper story, then it is conveyed down by *Pipes* into the 12 that are below, and in them all they continue still to throw up the water upon the Withs of Straw, that are over head.

In a word, this *Evaporation* discharges the

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Water

Water of so much of its *Phlegm*, that the same quantity of water, that weighed one ounce when it was drawn from the *Spring*, weighs six ounces in this last Chest: and all this rolling about of the *Water* from Chest to Chest lasts sometimes not above twenty *day's*; but if the season is only moderately hot, it will be longer a doing; sometimes it will not be done in a *month's* time: after that the *Water* is brought to a very considerable degree of *Saltiness*, it is conveyed into two great *Cauldrons*, that are 13 foot long, ten broad, & $3\frac{1}{2}$ deep; under which there are vast *Furnaces*, where in a most violent *Fire* of 11 or 12 hours continuance, the *Water* receives its last Evaporation; & when that is done, the *Salt* which is become thick, but is still moist, is taken up in Baskets of *Willows*, and placed about the wall of the *Furnace*: and to the humidity that remains in it drops out, and it is brought to its last degree of perfection: out of it, a *Tyth* is payed; of which the *Elect*or of *Ments* has one half, and the *City* of *Francfort* the other. This *Salt* is exceeding good and pleasant to the tast. It is much solider and more like the *Portugal Salt*, than like our *Newcastle salt*. It serveth very well all the uses of the *Kitchin*, and *Table*: but it has not strength enough to preserve things long. There are vast quantities made of it in hot and dry Summers: for the *Chests* are always kept full: and thus all

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Franconia is furnished with *Salt* of its own Production at very moderate rates; for there is so great a lessening of the Expence of the fire by this conveyance of the water thro so many Chests, that it is afforded very cheap. This I thought deserved well that I should Interrupt the earnestness in which you be, to hear what I have to tell you concerning *Italy*, so that I hope you will not be ill pleased with it, especially if your curiosity after the History of nature is as great as it was.

I now go over in one step all the *Journey* that I made from hence to *Italy*, which is certainly the *highest* situated Country in *Europe*: for as the *Rhine* and *Danube*, that rise in the *Alpes*, and run down to the *Ocean* and the *Euxine*, shewes you that all that tract of ground to those Seas is a constant descent, so when one comes to the *Alpes*, either on the *French* or on the *German* side, he is a great many days in climbing up those vast *mountains*, but the descent on the *Italian* side is very Inconsiderable. This appears yet more sensible when one comes from *Turin*, where the ascent up Mount *Senice* is but a work of a few hours: and yet from the height of that *hill*, one is in a constant descent till he comes to *Lions*. I will not carry you about *Italy*, to tell you the remarkable things that are there; but will only tell you some particulars that made the greatest Impression on my self, and

which were not seen by Dr. Burnet.

In my way from *Parma* to *Mantua*, I past at *Guaftale*, which is half way between them, 18 miles distant from both; where I saw a scene that surprised me. This *Town* is situated on the southside of the *Po*, at half a miles distance from it: It was a considerable branch of the Territory of *Mantua*, that was given off to one of the *Cadets* of that *Family*, and was settled in an intail to the *Heir male*. The best part of the Revenue of this small *Principality*, was a Duty that was payed for all *merchandises* that went or came upon the *Po*, which when the Trade of *Italy* was in a more flourishing condition than it is at present, was farmed for above Threescore thousand *Crowns*. The situation of this place makes it yet much more considerable than it is in it self; for as it lies in the neighbourhood of the Principalities of *Parma* and *Modena*, and is not far from the *Popes* Territory, so if this place is Master of the *Po*, by crossing it, the detachments that may be sent out from it are not only in the Territory of *Mantua*, but they may be also in a very few hours both in the *Milanese* and in the *Venetian* Dominion; so that *Guaftale* in some respect may be esteemed the Center of all the States of *Lombardy*. The Duke of *Mantua* married the Daughter of the last Duke of *Guaftalé*, who died in the year 1680. and his Nephew *Don Vespasiano Gonzaga*, who was then in
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the *Spanish* service, was acknowledged to be his undoubted *Heir*: so he came & took peaceable possession of his *Dutchy*: He was extremely much beloved by his *Subjects*, and thought himself at quiet in the enjoyment of his new Dignity: but all this was soon overturned; for one came to him from the *Court of France*, to let him know, that that *Great King* could not be wanting to his *Ally* the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom *Guaftale* belonged of right, his *Dutchess* being the Daughter and *Heir* of the late Duke, and that therefore since he had usurped the just right of another, the *French King* warned him, that if he did not withdraw of his own accord, he would give order to put the D. of *Mantua* in possession. It was to no purpose to argue against all this, and to shew the Messenger that *Guaftale* was a *Fee* intailed on the *Heir male*, of which there had never been the least dispute: But reasons taken from the equity of the thing, are seldom thought strong enough to hold the ballance against reasons of State: so the poor *Prince* being in no condition to resist so powerful an Enemy, was forced to abandon his Right, and to withdraw, and he was again entertained by the *Spaniards*. For tho there was a sort of a *fortification* cast about *Guaftale* 50 or 60 year ago, yet as that was at best an Inconsiderable defence, so even that was now quite ruined.

ned. Upon his retiring there came a detachment of 300 Men from *Casale*, who took possession of *Guaftale*, and continue there to this day: but this had been no great matter, if it had not gone further: some years passed after the new *Duke* was driven away before the true design of this matter appeared. The world was first to be laid to sleep. The *Town* it self is composed of about six or seven thousand *Inhabitants*; and so the small *Garrison* in it seemed of no great Consequence, and was rather an Advantage than a prejudice to the *Town*; they were kept in very good order, and they payed punctually for every thing that they called for: only they brought the place into the Method of a *Garrison*; for all must come in and go out of the *Town* only at one Gate.

But in the beginning of the year 1686. the mystery of this matter begun to appear: for Mr. du *Plessis*, a French *Engineer*, came thither, under the pretence of repairing the old *Fortifications*, and designed a Noble and a Regular *Fortification*: It is to be a *Hexagone*, with all necessary Out-works; and there is a great *Splanade* that is to be made round the place, and all the houses or trees that are within a considerable distance are to be beat down. In a word, the design is great, and will be executed in all the exactness of the *modern Fortification*; so that the advantage of the *situation*, will make it the most Important place

place of *Italy*, and that which will bridle all *Lombardy*, and be able to put it all under Contribution upon every occasion. The Works were begun in April 1686. and ever since they have kept 10 men constantly at work, upon the pay of a *Julio* a day: another year will go near to finish it. And yet tho here the justest ground possible, is given to alarm all *Italy*, none seems to be so much as concerned at it. The *Venetians*, that have at all other times, valued themselves upon their prospect of Danger, even at the greatest distance, either do not see this, or dare not own their fear. It is true, all this is carried on in the name of the D. of *Mantua*: but it is as certain, that tho it lies so near him, he has never been at the pains to go and see it: It has never been so much as once considered by his *Council*; nor is his *Revenue* in such a condition as to bear such an encrease of Expence: and yet it passes among the people there, that this is a great strength, that is to be made to keep the *French* out of *Italy*; and some *Priests* that are corrupted to serve the *French Interests* promote this Fiction. If the *Venetians* look on till this is finished, they will do very well to assure themselves of their new Conquests in the *Morea*, for their Antient ones in the *Terra firma* of *Italy* will probably fail them very quickly.

All those of the *Territory*, who know well that their *Princes* name is only made use of,

for the *fortifying* this place, look on with great regret, while they see a Work advancing so fast, that is to be a *Citadel* upon all their *Countrey*: of which an Ancient Person of *Quality*, that is there spoke to me with so much feeling, that he could hardly forbear weeping, when he shewed me that Yoke of Slavery under which they were falling. I saw, during my stay in *Mantua*, how much all the sensible people there, are concerned to see their *Prince* deliver himself up so blindly to the *French Interests*: they told me, that since his *childhood* he has been so beset with the *Instruments* and *Agents* of that *Court*, that his Inclinations for them are become as another nature in him: he was not out of *Childhood*, when almost all his *Domesticks*, and his *masters*, both for *Languages* and *Armes*, were furnished him from thence. His putting *Cassale* in the hands of that *Monarch*, was one good Evidence, and now the business of *Guaftale* is another, to shew that they have gained such an Ascendant over his Spirit, and have Insinuated themselves so much into him, in all those fatal hours of Liberty which he allows himself, that it is not thought he will stick at any thing that they demand of him, unless it be at his own going into *France*; to which he has been much solicited: but it is not so much as doubted, that if he goes once into that *Countrey*, he will never come out of it again. So he is

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not like to be wrought on so far ; and if it were not for some such apprehension, it is like enough that he might undertake the Journey ; for he does not love staying in his *Principality* so well, but takes pleasure to ramble about ; and he devests himself often of the Ceremonies of his *Greatness*, that so he may take a freer career in those *Exercises*, that he loves better than his *Affairs* : and a *Prince*, whose *Revenue* is none of the greatest, and whose expence is often Irregular, who has an active *Envoy* always near him, and who is ever ready to furnish him with *Money*, falls naturally into a great dependence on that *Court*.

Of this a very Extraordinary Instance appeared not long ago, in the Disgrace of the Marquisses of *Cannosse* and *Palliotti* : the first of these is his *Kinsman*, and has served him now for many years, with as much Fidelity as Affection ; the second was *Captain* of his *Guards*, and *Governour* of the Castle of *Mantua* which commands the *Town*. These then had the Courage as well as the Fidelity, to lay before him the Ruin that he was like to bring upon himself as well as upon all *Italy*, by delivering himself up so intirely to the *French Councils*, and by putting them first in possession of *Guastale*, and now suffering them to *Fortify* it, which was in effect the delivering up of his *Principality*, and of all

his *People* to them; who looked upon themselves as brought already under a *Forreign* Yoke: they also represented to him the danger of having almost no other *Domesticks* but *Frenchmen* about him, who were all as so many *Spies* upon him, and upon all that were near him, and that were very exact in giving the *French Envoy* Mr. *Baumbean* an account of every thing that he either said or did. These *Demonstrances* made some Impressions on the *Duke*, and he promised to them to find out an effectuall Remedy to all those Evils: But this was not a secret very long; *Money* and *Spies* find out every thing; and it is possible that they who gave the *Duke* these faithfull Advices might have been engaged to it, either by some Instruments of the Court of *Spain*, or of the Republick of *Venice*: yet the truth of this is not known, but the *French Envoy* made a shift to charge them so heavily, that he got them *both* to be made close *Prisoners*; in this condition they were when I was at *Mantua*, and no body durst so much as mention their Names, much less Interpose for them.

All the *Princes* of *Italy*, are as *Absolute* in their own *Dominions*, and as much delivered from all the bonds of *Law*, as some greater *Kings* are, so their *subjects* are at their Mercy, both for their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*: and this is that from which one may
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take a sure measure of the weakness of *Italy*. *Subjects* that retain still all the due liberties of humane nature, and that are not under an *Arbitrary* but a *Legall* Government; fight for themselves, as well as for their *Prince*; but if they are already as miserable as they can be, so that a change may perhaps put them in a better condition, but can hardly put them in a worse, they will not much concern themselves in their *Princes* Quarrel, since they only fight for the continuance, if not for the encrease of their Slavery.

But now to return to the Duke of *Mantua*; the *French* Envoy has since that time stuck closer to him than ever; he indeed waits always on him, sometimes acting like an *Officer* of his Household, and at other times like the *Governour* of his Person: he made the tour of *Italy* with him this year, and waited on him to *Millan*, *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Rome*, *Naples* and *Venice*, where they passed the *Carnavall* together: and he took a most particular care that the *Duke* should meet with none in all those places, that might open his eyes, to let him see the Ruin that he is bringing upon himself; yet after all, one of his *Secretaries*, had still the Integrity and Courage to give him such faithful Counsels, as had been fatal to others: yet the *Duke* used him better than he had done the two *Marquisses*: for tho the *French* Spies discovered him likewise, yet,
nothing

nothing could be done to hurt him in the *Dukes* good opinion, therefore it was resolved to take another method to tear so dangerous a man from him; so he being sent to negotiate some business at the *Court of Turin*, was often invited to go a Hunting, which he resisted for a great while, tho the *French Ambassadors* pressed him much to it; at last he was overcome, but his sport was fatal to him; for he was seized on, and carried by a small *Party* sent from *Pignarol* as is believed. In short, he is in the hands of the *French*, and it is said in *Italy*, that he is clapt up in *St. Margarite* one of the little *Islands* in the *Mediterranean sea*. This matter was at first highly resented by the *Duke*, but a little time will shew whether the caresses of the *Court of France* can soften him in this matter or not; for if they can lay him asleep after such an Attempt, then all persons will conclude that he is so much in their power, that none will dare to run the hazard of undeceiving him any more.

Those in the *Mountferrat* feel what a Neighbour *Cassal* is to them; that Imperious way of proceeding, without having any great regard to Justice, or to Contracts and Agreements, that is practised in *France*, begins to be felt here likewise: of which many smaller Instances were given me, but I will tell you two that were more remarkable; when the *Garrison* was first settled in *Cassal*, those of the
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Mountferrat held the price of their *Corn* so high, that it was hard to furnish the *Garrison* with *Bread*: so some of *Piedmont* undertook to supply them for two years at 21 *Livers* the *Ration*, and the bargain being made, they bought in great stores, and so they quickly filled their *Granaries*: upon this some in the *Mountferrat* came and offered to serve the *Garrison* at 14 *Livers* the *Ration*, upon which the other bargain tho made as sure as any such contract can possibly be made, was broke, and the undertakers were ruined by it. The other story was, that in order to the building the *Fortifications*, some *Masons* made a bargain at 32 *Livers* such a measure, so they brought together a great number of *Workmen*, and were at work; when others came and offer'd to perform the work at 28 *Livers*, for which the others had 32 *Livers*, only they demanded a considerable advance; so the first Bargain was presently broken, to the great loss of the *Undertakers*: but the 2d *Undertakers*, that had *Money* advanced them, found they had made a Bargain that was too hard for them to execute, so they ran away with the *Money*, to the great joy of the *Countrey*. He that told me this, said, that perhaps it surpris'd the *Italians*, who were not yet acquainted with such things; but nothing of that kind would seem extraordinary in *France*, which was so much accustomed to such a way of proceeding that

that he gave me a particular account of so many, that he had reason to know well, as would fill a Book : but that which touched him most sensibly, was the *Fonds* that was made for an *East-India Company*, to which the *King* gave in *three Millions*, with this positive Assurance, that all the Losses and Dammage of the *Company* should fall on that *Stock*. This was a great encouragment to draw in men, to put *Money* into the stock, and the *Court* set on the Project with so much Zeal, that *Letters* were writ to all the great Bodies and Towns of *France*, that were considered rather as Commands than Desires : yet after all were engaged, upon the first occasion the *Kings* three *Millions* were taken out of the stock, and the rest were left to shift for themselves.

But I must here give you an account of a very Extraordinary Transaction in the *Court* of *Turin*, which is likewise thought an effect of the Authority that the *Councils* of *France* have likewise there. The *Marquis de Pianesse* the son of him that set on the *Massacre* of the *Protestants* in the *Valleys of Piedmont* 34 years ago, was in great favour with the late *Duke* of *Savoy*, but the war of *Genoa* miscarried so in his hands in the year 1672 that the *Duke* could never forgive him that matter; of which the *Resentments* were so quick when he died, that he left a charge on *Madame Royale*, never to forgive him, nor to Imploy him

him : he upon his Disgrace retired into *France* and was so well entertained there, that he had Interest enough to procure a Recommendation from the *King* to the *Dutchess* of *Savoy* in his favour; but her Excuse was so reasonable, being founded on the Orders she had received from the *Duke* on his Death bed, that there was no reply to be made to it : yet afterwards a *Nephew* of his, the Count *Massin*, was so happy in the *Dutchesses* favour, that he found he only wanted a Head as able as his *Uncles* was to support him in that credit, which her favour gave him : and he was so much in the good graces of *Mad. Royale*, that he at last prevailed with her to bring his *Uncle* into the chief *Ministry*; he being certainly one of the ablest men that belongs to that *Court*; and the pretence found to bring this about decently, was, that the *Dutchesse* did secretly Intimate to the *Court* of *France*, that she found it necessary to Imploy the *Marq. de Pianesse*, and therefore she desired that the *King* would renew his recommendation of him, which being done, he was received into the *Ministry*, and had the chief stroke in all Affairs: he placed another of his *Nephews* about the *Duke*, and supported him so that he got very far into his favour, so *Mr. de Pianesse* observing great Disorders in the *Government*, and a great and useless Consumption of the *Revenue*, he Instructed his *Nephew* that was about the *Duke*

so well, that he entertained the young *Duke* often upon these heads, who was not then 15 year old: he shewed him how his *Countrey* was ruined by his *Mothers* ill conduct, and was always suggesting to him the Necessity of his assuming the *Government*, and putting an end to his *Mothers* Regency, which is a discourse to which all Persons of that Age have such a natural Inclination, that it was no wonder if both *Uncle* and *Nephew* came to believe that the *Duke* hearkned to the Proposition: but the *Duke* thought it too hardy a thing to venture on it, without consulting it with some wiser heads; upon which Mr. *de Pianesses* Nephew told him, that he would bring his *Uncle* to him, who would conduct the matter for him; for tho he had great obligations to *Madam Royale*, yet his Fidelity to his *Prince*, and his Affection to his *Countrey* overcame them all. This was a great surprise to the *Duke*, who looked on Mr. *de Pianesse* as the person in the World, that was the most obliged to his *Mother*, and that was the most in her *Interests*: and it was believed that the prejudice which this gave him, blasted this whole design: yet he gave him several Audiences in secret, and had concerted with him the whole method, both of assuming and managing the *Government*: which was carried on so secretly, that there was no suspicion of the matter, till the day
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before it was to break out, and that the *Duke* was to withdraw himself from his *Mother*: but then it was discovered, and the *Duke* to reconcile himself to his *Mother*, sacrificed the *Marq. de Pianesse* to her resentments: he was not only Disgraced, and put in Prison, but his proceſſe was made before the Court of *Parliament* of *Chambery*, for having endeavoured to throw the *Government* into a Confusion, by sowing of Division between the *Duke* and his *Mother*: yet he defended himself so well that he was acquitted, but he continues still a Prisoner: upon his Disgrace, there was none that durst oppose himself to *Mad. Royale*, or offer any advices to the *Duke*, so that the *Court* of *Turin* was as absolutely governed by the Directions that were sent from the *Court* of *France*, as if the one had been the *Vassal*, if not the *Subject* to the other.

I will not prosecute this discourse to tell you that which all *Europe* knows, of the designed Match with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, by which *Savoy* and *Piedmont* would have undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the *French*. The breaking of this, and the *Dukes* being *Poysoned*, as well as his *Father* had been, tho his youth carried him thro it, are things too well known, for you to be Ignorant of them. It is true, those who *Poysoned* the present *Duke*, have not been yet Discovered and punished,

nished, as those were who poyloned his *Father*. While I was at *Turin*, there was a discourse, that the *Duke* was reflecting on the Wise Advices that *Mr. de Pianesse* had given him, and that he Intended not only to bring him out of *prison*, but to receive him again into the *Ministry*, which is confirmed to me since I left those parts. There is nothing more Visible, than that the *Dukes* of *Savoy* have sunk extreamly in this *Age*; from the figure which they made in the *last*; and how much soever they may have raised their *Titular* Dignity; in having the Title of *Royal Highness* given them, they have lost as much in the *Figure*, that they made in the affairs of *Europe*: and it is now almost too late to think of a Remedy: for *Pignerol* and *Cassal* are two very Inconvenient neighbours. The truth is, the Vanity of this *Title*, and the expenceful humour that their late *Marriages* with *France* has spread among them, have undone them, for instead of keeping good *Troops* and strong *places*, all the *Revenue* goes to the keeping up of the Magnificence of the *Court*; which is indeed very splendid.

I will not ingage in a *Relation* of this last Affair of the *Valleys* of *Piedmont*; for I could not find particulars enough, to give you that so distinctly as you may perhaps desire it. It was all over, long before I came to *Turin*; but

at this I found, that all the *Court* there, were named of the matter : and they took pains on Strangers, not without some affectation, convincethem that the *Duke* was very hard-drawn to it : that he was long pressed to it, by repeated Instances from the *Court* of France; that he excused it, representing to the *Court* of *France* the constant Fidelity of those people ever since the last *Edict* of *Pacification*, and their great Industry, so that they were the profitablest Subjects that the *Duke* had, and that the body of men which he had given his *Father* in the last War with *Spain*, had done great Service ; for it saved the whole Army : but all these Excuses were without effect ; for the *Court* of *France* having taken its own *Faith*, that had been given to *Hereticks*, and in that shewed, how true a subject it pays to the *Council* of *Constance*, had bind to engage other *Princes* to follow this Pattern of *Fidelity* that it set the world : the *Duke* was not only pressed to extirpate *Hereticks* of those *Valeys* ; but this threatening was added, that if he would not, the *King* would send his own *Troops* to extirpate *Heresy* ; for he would not only not permit it in his own *Kingdom*, but would even drive it out of his *Neighbourhood*. He who told me all this, knowing of what Countrey I came from, added, that perhaps he would within a while send the like Messages to some of his *Neighbours*.

But to return to the expence that is made in the *Court of Turin*, I cannot forget a course that I had on this subject with a *German* that was a man of very good sense: he told me that nothing ruined the *Empire* so much, the great Magnificence which all the *Princes* affected to keep up in their *Courts*; and the Luxury in which they begun to live, which had much corrupted the Antient Simplicity and Gallantry of that great and Warlike *Nation*. Not only the *Nobility*, but their very *Princes* travel into *France*; and are so much taken with the Splendor & Luxury that they see there, that they return home quite spoiled with the ill Impressions that this makes on them. They carry home with them *French Cooks*, and all the contrivances of Pleasure that are so much studied there, for the vitiating the minds of their *Countreymen*: and the vast Expence, they not only exhaust their *Revenue*, and ruin their *Subjects*, but become so liable to corruption, that if their *Income* at home cannot support their charges, both their *Princes* and their *Ministers* are reduced, as it were to the necessity of taking *Pensions*, from those whose Instruments are set on this Luxury, and whose *Pensions* still support it, till the *Germans* are sufficiently enervated by the Feebleness which all that Luxury must needs take from them, and then they will despise and tra-

upon them, as much as they do now Court
 hem. He who told me all this, added, that
 the little *Princes* of the *Empire*, affected now
 as much Splendor in their *Courts* as the *Ele-*
tors did in the last *Age*, and that the *Electors*
 lived now in as much Magnificence as
Crowned Heads did formerly. But he carried
 his Observation further, and having staid
 some considerable time both in *Switzerland*
 and *Holland*, he added, that Luxury and Ex-
 pence were wicked things even in *Monar-*
chys, but they were fatal and destructive when
 they got into *Common-wealths*; of which
 the History of *Lacedemon*, *Athens*, and above
 all of *Rome*, give proofs that are beyond
 exception; for there is a *Humility*, a *Sobriety*,
 and a *Frugality*, that is so necessary for their
 preservation; that *Kingdomes* can be better
 maintained without *Troops* and strong *Places*,
 than *Common-wealths* without these. An E-
 mulation in Expence, a Vanity in Clothes,
 Furniture, or Entertainments, are so con-
 trary to all the principles upon which a *Com-*
mon-wealth must be either built or preserved,
 that he said, he thought that the *Dutch* had
 lost more of their real Strength, by the Pro-
 gress that this Pest makes among them, than
 by all the Expence of the *last War*, of
 which they complain so much: and indeed
 the men of Luxury and Vanity ought to be
 driven out of *Common-wealths*, as publick

Enemies to the Constitution of the *Government*: since an irregular Profusion throw them into Injustice and Oppression, and may in time expose them to the Corruption of other *Princes*, and dissolves that Industry and Application for Affairs by which only they can subsist: for all the *Maximes* that relate to a *Common-wealth*, there is none more Indispensable, than that all men regulate their *Expence*, so that it may not exceed their *Income* and therefore he admired that part of the *Venetian* Constitution, that regulates the *Expence* of their *Nobility*; and concluded that if the *States* and the *Cantons* did not put an effectual stop to the Progress of those Disorders among them, the *Figure* that they had made in all the Affairs of *Europe*, as it was to a great degree already Eclipsed among the *Cantons*, so would sink apace even in the *States*; and this was all that was wanting to set up a new *Monarchy* in the *West*.

But I have got such a trick of making Digressions, that I find it is hardly possible for me to hold long close to a point: there is something in travelling, I fancy, that makes mans thoughts reel; and that leads his Pen to wander about as much as his Person does: yet I remember still what drew me into all this ramble; It was the business of *Guaftale*, and the *Court* of *Mantua* that led me so far about. I will say no more to you of the rest of *Lombardy*

dy; nor will I enter into any description of *Tuscany*; but shall only tell you one thing, which both touched me much and pleased me extreamly.

I need not enlarge to you on the Poverty & Misery that appears in *Pisa*, where there remains yet enough to shew what they once were, and how much they are now sunk from what they were while they were a *Free State*: but all this is much more sensible, when one goes from hence to *Lucca*, which tho it has not the advantage of situation that *Pisa* has, yet is quite another sort of a place. The *Town* is well built, full of *People*, and as full of *Wealth*: the whole soil of this small *State* is well Cultivated and is full of *Villages*, all the marks and effects of *Liberty* appear, in an Universal Civility, & a generous and frank way of living: This is also the place of all *Italy* that is free of all Crimes and Publick Vices; they value themselves upon nothing but their *Liberty*, of which the *State* is so Jealous, that the frequent change of their *Magistrates*, from two Moneths to two Moneths, & the Restraint in which they are kept while they bear *Office*, they being indeed honorable Prisoners all the while, have preserved that here, which so many of their Neighbouring *States* have lost: and as *Liberty* is engraven in *Capital Letters*, upon the Publick Buildings of this *State*, so it appears to be much deeper in all their

Hearts. One sees the Effects of their *Wealth*, in all their *Publick* works, as well as in the *Fortifications* of this place, which are much better, and better kept than in any place I saw in *Italy*, except *Genoa*. There is on the inward side of the *Ramparts*, a noble *Plantation*, which is one of the beautifullest *Decorations* that belongs to this place; for as there is a considerable space left void between the *Ramparts* and the *Buildings*, so this is planted all about the whole *Town*, with several rows of *Trees*, which afford pleasant *Walks*, and a lovely *Shade*, which is no small matter, where they are exposed to so hot a *Sun*.

I come in the last place to give you an account of *Genoa*, which tho it is notable now to *Compete* as it did some *Ages* ago with the *Republick* of *Venice*, yet is still a great *Body* and full of *Wealth*; one that comes out of the *Popes Patrimony* and *Tuscany*, into this narrow border that lies between the *Hills* and the *Sea*, should expect to find as great a difference between their abounding in *People* and *Wealth*, as there is between the soil of these two *Countries*: but he finds the change just contrary to what in reason he ought to expect: for all this edge of soil, is so full of *Villages* and *Towns*, and there is so great a plenty of *Money* and of every thing else here, that it *Amases* a *Traveller* no less, than the abandoned state of those other places. The

The numbers of the subjects of this *Republick*, are estimated to 330000 *Persons*; which are thus reckoned up; In the Town of *Genoa* it self there are about 80000. *Persons*: in the *Villages* and *Towns* that lie *Westward* there are 120000. and 30000. in those that lie to the *East*: and the *Inhabitants* of the Island of *Corfica* are reckoned to be 100000. They keep two small *Forts* in *Corfica*, one at *Calvi* on that end that looks to *Genoa*, and another at *Boniface* on the other end that looks to *Sardinia*; for they have let *S. Fiorenza* and some other small places go to ruin. These two are considerable in themselves, and command two very good Harbours; yet as the building in *Calvi* are too much exposed and too high, so *Boniface* is under a high Ground, that is within musket shot of it, and that commands it: these places are now in a sad condition, ill kept, and ill furnished both with Men and Animunition, so that they could not make a great Resistance, there being but 150 men in *Calvi*, and 200 in *Boniface*; and it is believed, that the reason of their letting *S. Fiorenza* go to ruin, is, the Greatness of the Place, and the Expence of keeping it. The *Corfes* are extreamly brave, and have a Rage in their courage, that would be much more valueable and usefull than it is if they were more governable, and could be brought under an exact Discipline: but they are unruly,

and as apt to Mutiny, when they see no Enemy, as to fight well when it comes to that. The compass of the *Fortification* of *Genoa* is an amazing thing; for it runs all along the hills in a compass of many miles, I was told it was above 15 mile, & in the Expence that has been laid out on this and on the two *Moles*, chiefly the new one, one sees that this *State* spares nothing which Publick safety or the Convenience of Trade do require: these Publick Works has run the *Republick* into a vast debt; for they owe above Nine Millions of *Crowns* that are upon the *Bank*, besides several other debts, in particular their great Debt to *St. Georges House*; the greatest part of the *Revenue* of this *State* stands engaged for the *Interest* that they pay, so that tho the whole *Revenue* amounts to 1200000 *Crowns*, they reckon that 900000 *Crowns* of this is engaged, so that they have only three hundred thousand *Crowns* clear for their whole Expence, which is so small a matter, that it is no wonder if they are in a low condition, and can do little upon so narrow a fond: their *Revenue* rises chiefly out of an *Excise* that falls so equally upon all the *Subjects* of this *State*, that they reckon that every man in *Genoa*, payes six *Crowns* a year to the *State*. The whole *Land Forces* of this *State* were but 3500 men, yet of late they have raised them up to 4000 men; of which 2500 are the Garrison of the *City*,
and

and there are 600 in *Savona*, which after the City it self is the most Important place that belongs to this *State*: the extent of the whole *Countray*, that goes by the name of the *River of Genoa*, is 180 miles, of which 120 lie *Westward*, and 60 lie *Eastward*; the *Mountains* that are almost Impassible are thought a sufficient Defence to cover them from their Neighbours in *Lombardy*, and from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Millan*. It is true, they have one *Fort* called *Gavi*, that is 25 miles distant from the *Town*, which has all the advantages of situation that are possible for keeping the Passes thro the *Mountains*: but as they keep only a Garrison of 120 men in it, so all things in it are so neglected, that it could make no considerable Resistance to an Enemy that could attack in vigorously. In short, the strength of this *State* is very Inconsiderable, their *Souldiers* are ill Disciplined, their *Officers* want Experience, and they have no good *Engineers*; the New *Mole* is indeed a vast work, built out into the *Sea* seven fathom deep, and there are an hundred pieces of *Cannon* on it to defend the Old *Mole*; their Naval forces consist in six *Galleys*, and and two Men of *War*; but these are not kept as Ships of War, but are Employed rather as Merchant-men, so that they not only bear their own Expence, but bring in an Overplus to the *State*.

Finale,

Finale, which is the only Seaport that belongs to the State of *Millan*, is a poor abandoned *Village* without either Fortification or Garrison, nor do the *Spanish Gallies* come there any more; but make *Genoa* it self their Step, and Passage between *Spain* and *Millan*: so that an attempt upon *Genoa* was indeed the taking of all the *Milanese*, since the communication between *Spain* and it, being now thro *Genoa*, whensoever this Republick falls into the hands of the *French*, all the *Millanese* must fall of it self, or rather indeed all *Italy*, must needs fall with it.

This is as far as I could understand it the outward force of *Genoa*: for it can expect little from its *Allies*, it having none at all beside *Spain*: and the Slowness and Feebleness of that *Court*, are too visible to give any *State* great Courage that has no other support besides this to depend on: As for their Neighbours in *Italy*, they have no sort of Commerce with them; for they pretend to a degree of Precedence, equal to the *Venetians*: and to have the respect of a *Crowned Head* pay'd to them, and this cuts off all Communication with the other *Courts* of *Italy*, who consider *Venice* in another manner than they do *Genoa*. As for *Spain*, they have all possible Engagements with it: many of the richest Families of *Genoa* have great *Estates* in the *Milanese*, and the other Dominions of the King of *Spain*;

Spain; so that they must upon their own account be true to the Interests of that Crown, and *Spain* is as much concerned in their preservation as in any of its own Provinces, since it defends their Empire in *Italy*; so that *Genoa* and *Spain* are now inseparably united to one another, by their mutual Interests.

But I come next to give you some account of the Inward state of *Genoa*. It is known, that the Liberty was restored to them, by the most earnest Intercession of that great Captain, and gallant Countrey-man, *Andreas Doria*, whose Statue, in remembrance of this, is set up in an open place in their *Town*: this was in the year 1528. yet tho from that time they had their Government in their own hands, they were still obliged to let a Squadron of the *Spanish Gallies*, stand in their *Arsenal*, who kept then a Fleet of about 80. *Gallies*, so that till *Spain* was so much sunk from its former Greatness, that it was no more a Terrour to any of its *Neighbours*, *Genoa* was still in great dread of having their Liberty swallowed up by them, and therefore they do not reckon their entire Liberty but from the year 1624. or 1625. that they saw themselves out of all Danger from any of their *Neighbours*: *France* was not then begun to grow strong at Sea, and *Spain* was strong no where; so that since that time, till

France

France began to put out great Fleets, and that they had such a dreadful Neighbour of *Touloun*, they were safe and at quiet: but they fell under the common Disease of all *Common-wealths*, when they are long in Peace, and while their Commerce flourishes; a Spirit of Insolence and of Faction began to spread it self over the whole *Town*, which was grown to such a height, that in the *Project* that was offered to the *Court of France*, shewing the easiness of this Conquest (of which I have seen the Copy) the Divisions and Factions amongst them are proposed, as the chief ground upon which they founded the Probability of the ruin of that *Common-wealth*.

There are *three* sorts of Persons in *Genoa*, the *Nobility*, the *Citizens*, and the *Inferior People*. There are two Ranks of *Nobility*, the one is of the more *Antient Families*, the other is of those who have been chosen and raised up to that Dignity of late. It is true, the Agreement that was made in the year 1576. between them, is exactly observed, by which the Government and the Publick Employments are to be equally divided between them: but yet there is so great a height of Pride kept up among the Ancient Families, that they will not Inter-marry with the other, and think it a diminution to them, to enter into any Familiarity with them, and even to keep them Company: this on the other hand
kindles

kindles an Indignation in those latter *Families*, when they see themselves so much despised by the other. The Ancient *Families* have a necessary Dependence upon the *Crown* of *Spain*, by the great Estates that they have in their Dominions; but the others, whose Estates lie rather in Money, which either is in the Bank, or that runs out in Exchange or Trade, they are concerned in nothing but in the preservation of their *Bank*, and by consequence in their Liberty; for none can doubt but that if they fell in the power of another *Prince*, the Debts on the *Bank* would be but ill paid. Thus the *Nobility* stand divided into two Factions, which discover their Animosities to one another upon very many occasions: for *Publick Employments* are sought after here, with as much Intrigue as elsewhere. I will give you only one Instance of this, because it is both very refined, and it related to that *Doge*, whose Government was so unhappy both by the Bombarding of *Genoa*, and by his own going to *Versailles* to ask Pardon. He himself was a Man of a quiet temper, that did not aspire; but his *Wife* could not be satisfied till he was *Doge*, and she *Dogesse*: so she set so many Machines at work, that after the several tours, that the matter made in the many *Ballottings*, it came to the fixing of the last *three* out of whom the *Doge* was to be chosen: and her Husband

was

was one of them ; but there being one of the three, of whom she was very apprehensive, she engaged one of her Friends, to seem so assured of his *Election*, as to lay considerable wagers with several of the *Electors*, who were likeliest to favour him, that he should be chosen: now they having a greater mind to win their Betts, than to promote their Friend, gave their *Votes* in favour of him, that was upon that made *Doge*.

The 2^d body in *Genoa* is that of the *Citizens*, who seem to be extreamly weary of the Insolence of the *Nobility*; and there are many among them, that think themselves no way Inferiour to them, neither in the Antiquity, nor in the Dignity of their *Families*. They do also complain of a great Injustice done them by the *Nobility*; for in the agreement made between the *Nobility* and the *Citizens*, in the year 1528. one *Article* was, that every year *ten Citizens* should be according to their merit received into their body. It is certain, that if this had been observed, the *Nobility* of *Genoa* had become by this time so common, that this would have sunk its dignity extreamly: but instead of doing this *yearly*, it is now done but once in 30 *years*: so the *Citizens* complaine much, that this Encouragement and Recompence of *Merit* is now withdrawn. The *Nobility* pretend on the other hand, that by that Agreement, they are only

Only enabled to make an *Annuall* promotion, but that they are not obliged to it: and I was told, that the *Originall Record* of that Agreement, could not be found now; and no doubt it has been destroyed by the Order of the *Senate*. In short, the *Citizens* have so great an aversion to the *Government*, that it was generally thought that they would easily be prevailed on to shake it off, and to throw themselves rather into the *Armes* of another *Prince*, who would certainly have very soon trampled upon them all equally; for it is too common a thing, to see in all those *Intestine Factions*, that angry and ill-natured men, consider the last Injury, more than all other things: and are ready to sacrifice all to their *Resentments*: and are so intent upon their *Revenge*s, that often they will not look into the *Consequences* of what they do, but go on, which way soever the *Anger* of the *Faction* drives them: and those who are wise enough, to make their own *Advantage* of those *Quarrels*, and that are dextrous enough to manage them artificially, make commonly those *parties* take their turns in using one another ill, in which they know how to find their account: and as this observation holds often in *Colder Climates*, so in a *Countrey* where *revenge*s are very much studied and gratified, no wonder if this was much relied on. The third rank is of the *Trades men* and *Rabble*, who have their chief,

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dependance upon the great *Nobility* : but they are a Vicious and dissolute sort of *People*, as any are in the world. And indeed all *Genoa* is so extreemly corrupt, so Ignorant, and so brutal, and so little acquainted with the true Notions of *Government*, that here is a *Common-wealth* degenerated to such a degree, that it cannot resist a considerable shock. The *Subjects* are excessively Rich, tho the *State* is Poor : and this appears both in the Magnificence of their *Buildings*, which is beyond Imagination, and in the great *Wealth* that is in their *Churches* and *Convents*, which seemed to me to be beyond what is in *Venice* it self.

A sensible man that I knew there told me, that as there was among them a sort of Impunity to all Kind of Vice, so their gross Ignorance made them Incapable to conduct their *State*; for while their *Wealth* blew them up, with that Pride that it commonly produces in mean Souls, and when their Intrigues brought them into a considerable share of the *Government*, they satisfied themselves with carrying on the Interests of their own *Cabal*, and depressing those that opposed them, without opening their minds to so great a thought, as that of correcting or securing their *Common wealth*. They neither had Heads nor Hearts capable of a vigorous Defence : and they knew nothing of what was doing abroad; but contented themselves with

with minding the Interest of their *City Factions*. He added, that when a *Common-wealth* fell once into this Disease, it was in a much worse state, than any to which the Rigour even of an unhappy War, could reduce it: as a man whose Vitals are Inwardly corrupted, is in a much worse condition, than he that has received many Wounds; Nature may bring him thro the one, tho he had lost ever so much blood; whereas it must sink under the other: so all the mischief that could befall a *Common-wealth* could hardly destroy it, if it retain'd the Inward vigour of its first *Maximes* and *Constitution*: and he did not stick to say, that as high as the *States of Holland* were now in holding the *ballance of Europe*, if their *Towns* fell once into established *factions*, if *Learning* sunk among them, so that their *Magistrates* grew Ignorant, chiefly of the *Affairs of Europe*, if they came to have a *Magistracy*, that had not the right understanding of *War*, and the Courage with which some practice in *Military* matters Inspire men, and if their *Wealth* swelled them up to an Unreasonable Pride, and that men rise more upon the little Intrigues of *City Factions*, than upon true merit; whensoever, he said, the *States* fell into this disease, then the strength of that *Republick* was gone; and tho they might subsist after that longer or shorter, according to the Con-
 juncture of Affairs, yet one might reckon

them to be in their decline, which must end in a most certain Ruin to them, either within doors, or from abroad.

I have now told you enough to let you see how reasonable a Project it was to send a *fleet* against so feeble a *body*; which without most prodigious Errors in the management, could not have miscarried: and this is so clear, and so confessed by every man in *Genoa*, that one rather Wonders how they found a way to conduct it so ill. The *man* that formed the whole project was *Stiven Valdyron* of *Nismes*, and a *Protestant*, who is a person of a very good Understanding, and having lived above 12 years in *Genoa*, had time enough not only to raise a very good Estate out of his Trade, but to see into the whole Feebleness of that *Government*. I conversed long and much with him: and having since that time been in *Genoa* it self, I have seen so clearly the truth of all that he told me, that I may now assure you of all that I learnt from him. He had a strange affection to his *Great Monarch*, and fancied that the obligations of raising *his Glory*, was superiour to all other: and no doubt he reckoned to find his own account in it, if he could have been the occasion of making the *King of France* Master of *Genoa*: therefore he drew up the whole *Project*, and shewed both of what Importance the thing was, and how easily it might be executed: for I have a *Copy* of the whole *Scheme*, which
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Mr. *St. Olon* sent to the *Court of France*, of which Mr. *Valdyron* was indeed the *Author*; the design being entertained, *St. Olon* had an Intimation given him, to withdraw some day's before the *French fleet* came before the *Town*. But *Valdyron* was left to try his hard fate; for as soon as the *Fleet* began to do Acts of Hostility, *Valdyron*, who had been known to be much with *St. Olon*, was clapt in *Prison*, and while he was in it, a *Bomb* broke thro his *Prison*, but did him no hurt, only the violent noise it made weakned the Tympan of his *Ear* so much, that he lost his hearing of one side.

But he, as well as all *Genoa*, fancied they were lost, and that the *French* must be certainly Masters of the *Place* in a few hours. The Consternation and Confusion was so great, that if at first a great shower of *Bombs* had been thrown into the *Town*, and a descent had been made, they had certainly succeeded; for the people were in such a disorder, that the *Magistrates* were not regarded; and indeed many of them shewed as much fear as the rabble did. But the *French*, instead of beginning vigorously at first, threw in one *Bomb*, and after some hours another; and so went on slowly for a day or two; in which time, the *People* began to get into order, and to take heart: and now their first fear, turned to a Rage against the *French*; so that when they made a descent, they found

such a Resistance, that they were forced to go back to their *Ships*, having left behind them 500 of their best *Men*; and the *Fleet* continued *Bombarding* the *Town*, till they had shot all their *Bombs*; and when their store was spent, they sail'd away, having laid a great many noble *buildings* in ruins.

The *morality* of this way of proceeding, was somewhat hard to be found out: the *Italians* do not stick to say, it was an *Assassinat*, when without Warning or proceeding in the way of a fair *War*, a *fleet* came and surpris'd and burnt a *Town*: but the Conduct was as extraordinary, as the Action it self was honorable and worthy of a MOST CHRISTIAN KING.

It was pleasant to hear a *Spaniard*, that belonged to the Count of *Melgar* talk of this matter: he said, that in this, *France* had acted as it had done on many other occasions, in which tho it had the favourablest conjuncture possible, it had done nothing futeable to what might have been expected; for tho they had here a calm *Sea*, for four dayes, which is a very Extraordinary thing in the *Bay* of *Genoa*, that is almost alwayes in a *Storm*, and tho they had surpris'd the *Town*, that had not the least apprehension of such a Design, and found them in a condition not likely to have resisted a much smaller Force; yet he said, that Feebleness which had appeared upon many other occasions, shewed it self likewise here; since
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this great Expedition failed, and the Reproach of first attempting it, and then Miscarrying in it, was studied to be carried off by this, that the design was only to *Chastise Genoa*, at which there is not a *man* in the *Town* that does not laugh. He upon this took a great compass for these last twenty *years* backwards, to shew that there was nothing extraordinary in all this *Reign*, that had been the Subject of so many *Panegyricks*, unless this may be reckoned extraordinary, that there has been so little progress made, when they had the fairest opportunities possible: an Infant *King* of *Spain*, and a feeble *Council*, and a Distraction in the *States* of *Holland*; so that the first Successes that were the Effects of the weakness and surprise of those that were attackt, are rather a Reproach than a Glory to a *Reign*, that has understood so ill how to serve it self of those advantages, that had nothing of the Greatness of a *Conquering* Genius in it; and where the *Ministry* shewed rather an exactness in executing little Projects, than a largeness of Soul in laying vast ones. I could not but be pleased to see a *Spaniard*, find somewhat that entertained his Pride in the Contempt of the *French*, at the same time that the low estate of their Affairs, made him feel the depression of their own *Empire* as much as the progress of the Great Monarch of *France*.

But now I cannot but tell you the rest of

Valdyron's Story: as soon as the *French* were gone, the Government of *Genoa* began to examin him, but he stood to his denial, and said, he knew nothing: all his *Effects* were seized on and dissipated, and he himself was four or five times put to the strapado, which was done by tying his hands behind his back, and fetching them over his Head, which dis-joynted his *Armes* and *Shoulder-blades*, in a most terrible manner, yet he had the firmness to stand it out: and so they could draw nothing from him: but as soon as the *Court of France* understood, that both he, and several other *Frenchmen*, that lived in *Genoa*, were put in Prison, the *Resident* of *Genoa* was clapt up at *Paris*: and when the *Overtures* were made to accommodate this matter, *Valdyron* was no more ill used, and after some Months he was set at Liberty: but his *Estate* was quite lost: yet he came to *France*, not doubting but that so great a Service, and such severe Suffering, would have procured him some considerable Reward: but after he had languished there above a year, he got a *Pension*, that was just enough to keep him alive, of two hundred *Crowns*: and even that was stopt, 'as soon it was known that he was of the *Religion*, till he changed. This piece of Gratitude for such a Service, that had cost him so dear, was no extraordinary Encouragement for others to venture as he had done. Yet I who knew him well, for

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almost two years, could not but admire the wonderful Zeal he had for the Glory of his King; for in the midst of all his Misery, and of all the Neglect he met with, having fallen from so flourishing a condition, he could never be brought to think that he had done foolishly: but was rather proud of it, that he had formed so sure a Scheme, for putting *Genoa* into his *Masters* hands: & this he said often to me, when he was so poor, that he did not know where to dine. The affinity of the matter, makes me call to mind a conversation that I had at *Rome*, with two of the Old *Magistrates* of *Messina*; who had been men that bore a great stroke in that *Town*, during the *Revolt*: and were then reduced to the misery of accepting a Charity. They told us, that all the *Oaths*, that Mr. *de Vivonne*, and Mr. *la Fueillade*, swore to them in the *Kings* name, as well as in their own, never to abandon them, which were made upon the *Sacrament*, besides whole Valleys of *Oaths*, that Mr. *la Fueillade* made them from morning to night, while he was among them, it seems went for nothing, but matters of form: yet they said, they thought the *French Ministry* would have considered the *Kings Interests*, if they had no regard to his *Honour*. They added, that if the *King of France*, when he found the War of *Messina* lay heavy upon him, had sent to *Spain*, and offered to that Court, as a pledge of the Peace that he was offering them at *Nimwegen*,
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to put *Messina* again into their hands, provided they would grant an *Indemnity* for what was past, and a Confirmation of their Antient *Priviledges*, of which he himself would be the *Garand*, this they said the *Spaniards* would have without doubt, accepted as something come to them from Heaven: and if the matter had ended thus, as it would have been highly honourable for the *King*, so it would have given him the dependance both of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and have kept them still in a disposition to throw themselves into his hands: whereas in the way that their business ended, if there should be in any time hereafter, a provocation given in those parts to *revolt*, they would sooner throw themselves into the *Armes* of the *Turk*, if he should be again in a condition to protect them, than of those who had abandoned them in so strange a manner, taking no care neither of the *Priviledges* of the *Town* in general, nor of those particular *Persons*, who had rendred themselves unpardonable to the *Spaniards*. It is true, some were brought away to *France*, the *two* that I have mentioned were of that number, and had small *Pensions* assigned them, which were but ill payed: and because some of them had not patience enough to bear such an unlooked for Usage, but complained freely of it, a pretence was taken from thence, to *banish* them all out of *France*; so that ever since they have suffered a great deal of Misery. I will not digress

digress so far as to give you an account of that whole *Revolt*, which they justified to us, from the great *Priviledges* of their *Town*, which were indeed such as made it a sort of a *Common-wealth*: that had a right to defend it self against those manifest *Infractions* with which they charged the *Spaniards*. They told us, that the *Confiscations* of *Messina* had amounted to twenty *Millions*: and yet for all that the *King of Spain* was not much the richer by their *Ruin*; for the *Vice-Roy* and *Government* of *Sicily*, pretended to exhaust all by a *Citadel* that they are building: and by some other publick Works. In Conclusion, the two poor *Messinesses*, seeing a *Dutchman* in our Company, turned the Discourse to him, and wished him to warn his *Countrey-men*, by their Fate, how much some *Courts* ought to be relied on.

And now I have done with all the *Political Observations*, that I could make in *Italy*. But as I begun this *Letter* with one piece of *Natural History*, I will end it with another. The *first* was a way of preparing of *Salt*, and the *second* is a new way of preparing of *Vitriol*, which was lately set up in the *Sulfatara*, near *Puzzolo*. It has not been long enough a going, to enable one to judge how it will succeed; but yet all things are very promising; and that which gives a good Prospect of it, is, that all is done without the expence of any *fire*. The Method of it is this. There
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are several *Cisterns* made in that great Bottom of the *Sulfatara*, of great stones Cemented very close: into these all the *Rain* both of that Bottom, and of the little Hills that are round it does fall, which is impregnated with *Vitriol*: they do also lay a great many Tiles and Bricks before all those Vents, that the Fire which is in this Soil makes: and where the Smoke comes out, with so rapid a violence; so that this Smoke passing thro these Bricks, leaves a great deal of *Sulphur* and *Vitriol* upon them: and these Bricks are washed in those *Cisterns*, and by this means the *Water* becomes impregnated with *Vitriol*: then they put the Water into *Coppers*, which they set over those violent hot Eruptions; so that this serves as a Fire, to evaporate the Phlegm, and so they find quantities of *Vitriol*. The revenue of this goes to the *Annunciata* of *Naples*: and they begin to promise themselves great advantages from it: but a little time will shew this, as well as greater matters. I will add no new trouble, to that which the length of this *Letter* must needs have given you: so I will conclude, without any other Formality, but that of assuring you that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

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P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE I added a *Postscript* to my *two* former *Letters*, I intend to make this so far of a piece with them, as to conclude this likewise with one; for I find, looking over the little *Notes* that I took, a *Particular* that had escaped me, and yet it seems to deserve to be mentioned: and since I have not brought it into my *Letters*, I have resolved to make a *Postscript* express for it.

There is a little *Town* in the *Appennins*, about 25 miles from *Rome*, called *Norcia*, near which there is a considerable *Abbey*, which belongs now to a *Cardinal*. This *Town*, tho it lies within the *Popes* Territory, yet has such great Priviledges still reserved to it, that it may pass in some sort for a free *Common-wealth*. They make their *Lawes*, and choose their own *Magistrates*; but that which is the most extraordinary part of their Constitution, and that is the most exactly observed, is, that they are so jealous of all *Priests*, and of their having any share in their *Government*, that no man that can either read or write is capable of bearing a share in their *Government*: so that their *Magistracy*, which consists of 4 *Persons*, is alway's in the hands of *Unlettered* Men, who are called there *Li quatri Illiterati*: for they think the least

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ERRATA.

Page 6, line 16. dele of. P. 9. l. 22. portion r. *proportion*. P. 16. l. 18. after and r. *upon*. P. 22. l. 4. dele *that*. P. 27. l. 7. r. *that was*. P. 34. l. 23. cited r. *said*. P. 36. l. 19. is r. *it*. P. 38. l. 18. dele *a*. P. 47. l. last. r. *slippers*. P. 48. l. 9. *sling*. r. *fling*. l. 20. hear r. *bear*. P. 70. l. 26. is r. *were*. P. 82. l. 11. strong r. *strange*. P. 83. l. 8. or r. *of*. P. 85. l. 9. Sr. r. *St.* P. 87. l. 16. 235. r. 35. P. 89. l. 3. r. *Damnatos*. P. 130. l. 11. me. r. *we*. P. 137. l. 10. where r. *when*. P. 169. l. 18. shut r. *Shot*. P. 171. l. 18. in r. *it*.





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